



ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT BOARD

VOLUME: 379

DATE: Wednesday, May 13, 1992

BEFORE:

A. KOVEN Chairman

E. MARTEL Member

FOR HEARING UPDATES CALL (COLLECT CALLS ACCEPTED) (416)963-1249

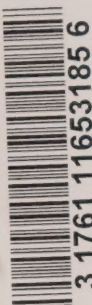


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HEARING ON THE PROPOSAL BY THE MINISTRY OF NATURAL
RESOURCES FOR A CLASS ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT FOR
TIMBER MANAGEMENT ON CROWN LANDS IN ONTARIO

IN THE MATTER of the Environmental
Assessment Act, R.S.O. 1980, c.140;

- and -

IN THE MATTER of the Class Environmental
Assessment for Timber Management on Crown
Lands in Ontario;

- and -

IN THE MATTER of a Notice by The Honourable
Jim Bradley, Minister of the Environment,
requiring the Environmental Assessment
Board to hold a hearing with respect to a
Class Environmental Assessment (No.
NR-AA-30) of an undertaking by the Ministry
of Natural Resources for the activity of
Timber Management on Crown Lands in
Ontario.

Hearing held at the offices of the Ontario
Highway Transport Board, 10th Floor, 151 Bloor
Street West, Toronto, Ontario, on Wednesday,
May 13, 1992, commencing at 9:00 a.m.

VOLUME 379

BEFORE:

MRS. ANNE KOVEN
MR. ELIE MARTEL

Chairman
Member

A P P E A R A N C E S

MR. V. FREIDIN, Q.C.	)	MINISTRY OF NATURAL
MS. C. BLASTORAH	)	RESOURCES
MS. K. MURPHY)	
MR. B. CAMPBELL)	
MS. J. SEABORN	)	MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT
MS. N. GILLESPIE)	
MR. R. TUER, Q.C.	)	ONTARIO FOREST INDUSTRY
MR. R. COSMAN	)	ASSOCIATION and ONTARIO
MS. E. CRONK	)	LUMBER MANUFACTURERS'
MR. P.R. CASSIDY	)	ASSOCIATION
MR. D. HUNT)	
MR. R. BERAM		ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT BOARD
MR. J.E. HANNA	)	ONTARIO FEDERATION
DR. T. QUINNEY	)	OF ANGLERS & HUNTERS
MR. D. O'LEARY		
MR. D. HUNTER	)	NISHNAWBE-ASKI NATION
MR. M. BAEDER	)	and WINDIGO TRIBAL COUNCIL
MS. M. SWENARCHUK	)	FORESTS FOR TOMORROW
MR. R. LINDGREN)	
MR. D. COLBORNE	)	GRAND COUNCIL TREATY #3
MR. G. KAKEWAY)	
MR. J. IRWIN		ONTARIO METIS & ABORIGINAL ASSOCIATION
MS. M. HALL		KIMBERLY-CLARK OF CANADA LIMITED and SPRUCE FALLS POWER & PAPER COMPANY



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APPEARANCES (Cont'd):

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MR. Y. GERVAIS)	ONTARIO TRAPPERS
MR. R. BARNES)	ASSOCIATION
MR. P. ZYLBERBERG)	NORTHWATCH COALITION
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MR. J.W. ERICKSON, Q.C.)		RED LAKE-EAR FALLS JOINT
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MR. H. GRAHAM		CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF FORESTRY (CENTRAL ONTARIO SECTION)
MR. G.J. KINLIN		DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
MR. S.J. STEPINAC		MINISTRY OF NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT & MINES
MR. M. COATES		ONTARIO FORESTRY ASSOCIATION
MR. P. ODORIZZI		BEARDMORE-LAKE NIPIGON WATCHDOG SOCIETY

APPEARANCES (Cont'd):

MR. R.L. AXFORD	CANADIAN ASSOCIATION OF SINGLE INDUSTRY TOWNS
MR. M.O. EDWARDS	FORT FRANCES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
MR. P.D. McCUTCHEON	GEORGE NIXON
MR. C. BRUNETTA	NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO TOURISM ASSOCIATION

I N D E X O F P R O C E E D I N G S

<u>Witness:</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
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<u>IAN RADFORTH</u> ,	
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I N D E X O F E X H I B I T S

<u>Exhibit No.</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
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2227B	Witness statement authored by Professor Dunk entitled The Environment in the Culture of Forest Workers in Northwestern Ontario.	65642
2227C	Witness statement authored by Cecil Makowski entitled Sustainability, Diversity and Ontario's Forest Management Strategy, A Trade Union Perspective.	65642
2228	Resumes of Mr. Makowski, Professor Radforth and Professor Dunk and Mr. Johansson, along with a covering letter dated April the 29th, 1992 from Ms. Omatsu, and responses to interrogatories.	65643
2229	Two-page written statement from Mr. Johansson.	65643
2230	Document entitled The Environment, Our Concern, prepared by the Canadian Paperworkers Union consisting of 32 pages.	65651
2231	Forestry Sectoral Task Force Report of the Ontario Round Table on Environment and Economy.	65754

1 ---Upon commencing at 9:05 a.m.

2 MADAM CHAIR: Good morning. Please be
3 seated.

4 Good morning, Ms. Omatsu.

5 MS. OMATSU: Good morning, Madam Chair,
6 Mr. Martel. It is with great anticipation that we at
7 the Canadian Paperwork Workers Union have looked
8 forward to this opportunity to address you and to put
9 forward our evidence in front of you. Thank you for
10 the opportunity.

11 With your permission I would like to
12 introduce the CPU contingent and take care of some
13 procedural matters and then briefly outline how I
14 propose that we will proceed in the next day and half,
15 two days and make a few opening remarks before we swear
16 in the witnesses.

17 First, for the record my name is Maryka
18 Omatsu and since Omatsu is not the commune name in
19 these parts I will spell the last name. It is
20 O-m-a-t-s-u.

21 Beside me is Paul Eprile, E-p-r-i-l-e,
22 who is a researcher with the CPU. Testifying first,
23 sitting in the middle, is Cecil Makowski,
24 M-a-k-o-w-s-k-i, who is the CPU representative on this
25 panel; sitting to see Cecil's right is Professor Ian

1 Radforth, R-a-d-f-o-r-t-h, and he is a historian
2 specializing in the Ontario forest industry, Canadian
3 historian; and at the far end is Professor Tom Dunk who
4 is a cultural anthropologist specializing in working
5 class culture.

6 MR. MARTEL: I didn't get the last name.

7 MS. OMATSU: Dunk.

8 MR. DUNK: D-u-n-k.

9 MR. MARTEL: Thank you.

10 MADAM CHAIR: We have a fourth witness
11 whose name is Inge Johansson, J-o-h-a-n-s-s-o-n, and
12 Mr. Johansson will be speaking as the environmental
13 officer of the Swedish Forest Workers Union. He
14 doesn't come into town until this evening and with the
15 permission of Board we would like to begin tomorrow
16 morning at 10:30 in order that we may fully meet and
17 prepare with him for tomorrow's presentation.

18 MADAM CHAIR: That's fine with the Board,
19 Ms. Omatsu.

20 MS. OMATSU: Thank you very much.

21 With your concurrence I would propose
22 that we begin with Mr. Makowski and then proceed to
23 Professor Radforth and Dunk and then have
24 cross-examination of them as a panel following all
25 their presentation and then tomorrow morning we would

1 have Inga Johansson and the rest of them for
2 cross-examination.

3 MADAM CHAIR: Any objections?

4 MS. SWENARCHUK: No objections, Madam
5 Chair. I have very few questions and only for Mr.
6 Makowski. I am going to be here this morning to hear
7 his evidence and then I need no leave. I wonder if
8 however long it takes we can agree that I can
9 cross-examine him some time after 1:30 this afternoon
10 for my very brief questions.

11 MS. OMATSU: That's fine.

12 MS. SWENARCHUK: Thank you.

13 MS. OMATSU: Now dealing with procedural
14 matters. We have filed with the Board three witness
15 statements plus a two-page statement from Mr.
16 Johansson, three resumes plus a sort of profile of Mr.
17 Johansson, and I advise the Board that there is a
18 possibility that we might refer to three documents in
19 our testimony.

20 MADAM CHAIR: All right. Why don't we
21 assign these an exhibit number, Ms. Omatsu. The three
22 written witness statements will be Exhibit 2227. We
23 will make the first witness statement authored by
24 Professor Radforth Exhibit 2227A and that is entitled
25 Logging Mechanization in Ontario's Forest Environment,

1 An Historical Overview.

2 ---EXHIBIT NO. 2227A: Witness statement authored by
3 Professor Radforth entitled
4 Logging Mechanization in
Ontario's Forest Environment, An
Historical Overview.

5 MADAM CHAIR: Exhibit 2227B will be
6 witness statement No. 2 authored by Professor Dunk and
7 the title of this witness statement is The Environment
8 in the Culture of Forest Workers in Northwestern
9 Ontario.

10 ---EXHIBIT NO. 2227B: Witness statement authored by
11 Professor Dunk entitled The
12 Environment in the Culture of
Forest Workers in Northwestern
Ontario.

13 MADAM CHAIR: Exhibit 2227C will be
14 witness statement No. 3 entitled Sustainability,
15 Diversity and Ontario's Forest Management Strategy, A
16 Trade Union Perspective and we understand that Mr.
17 Makowski will be testifying to witness statement No. 3.

18 ---EXHIBIT NO. 2227C: Witness statement authored by
19 Cecil Makowski entitled
20 Sustainability, Diversity and
21 Ontario's Forest Management
Strategy, A Trade Union
Perspective.

22 MADAM CHAIR: The resumes of the
23 witnesses we will give a separate exhibit number to and
24 this will be Exhibit 2228 and this package also
25 includes a letter from yourself, Ms. Omatsu, a covering

1 letter dated April the 29th, 1992.

2 Mr. Makowski's resume, I think that came
3 after, didn't it?

4 MS. OMATSU: Yes.

5 MADAM CHAIR: We will attach that to
6 Exhibit 2228 as well.

7 ---EXHIBIT NO. 2228: Resumes of Mr. Makowski,
8 Professor Radforth and Professor
9 Dunk and Mr. Johansson, along
10 with a covering letter dated
April the 29th, 1992 from Ms.
Omatsu, and responses to
interrogatories.

11 MADAM CHAIR: The two-page written
12 statement from Mr. Johansson will become Exhibit 2229.
13 The translation date is April 22nd, 1992, and it was
14 translated by Dr. Helm at the Department of History at
15 the University of Umea in Umea, Sweden and that's
16 spelled U-m-e-a.

17 ---EXHIBIT NO. 2229: Two-page written statement from
18 Mr. Johansson.

19 MADAM CHAIR: Was there any other
20 material you wished to make an exhibit at this point?

21 MS. OMATSU: I don't know how you want to
22 refer to them. There is a possibility that we may
23 refer to them.

24 MADAM CHAIR: Why don't we wait. We have
25 the document on the environment prepared by the

1 Canadian Paperworkers Union as well as the minutes of
2 the Standing Committee on Forestry and Fisheries, as
3 well as the Forestry Sectoral Task Force Draft Report
4 and the Ontario Round Table on the Environment and the
5 Economy. Why don't we hold on to these documents and
6 when evidence is given about them we will put those
7 into exhibit.

8 Mr. Martel has just reminded me, the
9 final information we had was answers to
10 interrogatories. Excuse me, the responses to the
11 interrogatories are part of Exhibit 2228. Also, we
12 will include the resume of Mr. Johansson in Exhibit
13 2228.

14 All right. Let's get started.

15 MS. OMATSU: Thank you. Just by short
16 introductory remarks, what we hope to say in the next
17 day and a half, two days through Mr. Makowski is
18 basically the statement that was outlined in the
19 witness statement No. 3 and the executive summary,
20 CPU's position stressing ecological forestry, rationale
21 decision making which takes into account the opinions
22 and seeks real input from the members of the CUP and
23 the precautionary principle in light of the fact that
24 we are uncertain on the issues before us and, lastly,
25 the need for development of a work force that is more

1 ecologically trained and sensitive.

2 Through Professor Radforth we will
3 present the premise that the forest industry is in a
4 crisis, this crisis has historical routes, but that the
5 crisis need not continue. We can learn from our past.

6 Through Professor Dunk's testimony we
7 will show that forest workers are indeed concerned
8 about the environment and that they would like real
9 input into decision making and would benefit and
10 appreciate further training.

11 Through Mr. Johansson we will put forward
12 a model. We are not saying that this is a model that
13 need be adapted in full, but it is certainly something
14 that's we in Canada should take a look at in terms of
15 Swedish forestry and silvicultural practices and
16 policies and their training.

17 I think we have ready to begin. Perhaps
18 we can swear the witnesses.

19 MADAM CHAIR: Yes.

20 CECIL MAKOWSKI; Sworn.

21 IAN RADFORTH,

22 THOMAS DUNK; Affirmed.

23 MS. OMATSU: Madam Chair, I have been
24 advised that I am speaking too softly and I will try to
25 speak more loudly. This is a problem that I always

1 have.

2 In large part Mr. Makowski will be
3 referring to the 10 recommendations in witness
4 statement 3. I have made extra copies if people would
5 like them.

6 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. OMATSU:

7 Q. Your name is Cecil Makowski and you
8 are the national representative of the Canadian
9 Paperworkers Union?

10 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. That's correct.

11 Q. Your resume has been filed with the
12 Board and given Exhibit No. 2228 and I would like to
13 highlight some aspects of that resume.

14 I wonder if you could describe briefly
15 for the Board your work experience?

16 A. I have got extensive work experience
17 in the forest products industry. Even during the time
18 that I was a student at high school in Thunder Bay I
19 worked summers for what was then Great Lakes Forest
20 Products and what has now become Canadian Pacific
21 Forest Products doing basically labouring types of jobs
22 and loading paper boats which was the main means of
23 conveyance to the market of the paper product at that
24 time and, in fact, is no longer used.

25 Following my completion of high school, I

1 worked full time at that particular mill and for about
2 a year I believe or slightly more than a year, a year
3 and a half possibly, and got it in my head that I no
4 longer wanted to work in the paper industry and I went
5 to college and graduated from college in the aircraft
6 maintenance engineering field and worked for several
7 years in that field.

8 For reasons that are too long to go into
9 and explain I found myself after touring the western
10 part of Canada back in Thunder Bay needing employment
11 and went back to that particular mill again and became
12 employed there, and shortly after my re-employment I
13 began a mechanical apprenticeship in millwrighting and
14 I was successful in obtaining Class A status as a
15 millwright and continued to work in that capacity in
16 that particular mill until 1987.

17 Q. Now, moving on to your union history,
18 perhaps I will just lead you through this and you can
19 expand on points which you submit.

20 From 1978 to '83 you were the shop
21 steward of the CPU Local 39; is that correct?

22 A. That's correct. I began by obtaining
23 a position on the apprenticeship committee because I
24 was involved in the apprenticeship program within the
25 mill and found that I was interested in union

1 activities and became a shop steward at a later date.

2 Q. Then from '83 to '87 you were
3 president of the CPU local?

4 A. That's correct. I was elected in
5 1983 as President of that particular local union which
6 represented all of the mechanical people, basically all
7 the production people except for the actual paper
8 machines, people that were employed in the stud lumber
9 mill which produced just that, stud lumber, and people
10 that were employed in the waferboard mill which
11 produced four by eight sheets of waferboard for the
12 construction industry and there was about 2,000 members
13 in our local at that time.

14 Q. From '84 to '87 you were elected
15 President of the Thunder Bay and District Labour
16 Council as well as the President of the --

17 THE REPORTER: Excuse me, I can't hear
18 you.

19 MS. OMATSU: Sorry. Maybe if I had the
20 microphone...

21 Q. In 1984 you were elected
22 Vice-President of Ontario/Manitoba Primary Council?

23 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. That's correct. That
24 council represents workers that are employed in the
25 pulp and paper industry in both the provinces

1 mentioned, Ontario and Manitoba, and at the time I was
2 elected Vice-President probably represented about 8,000
3 workers in Ontario.

4 Q. And you were then elected President
5 of the Ontario/Manitoba Primary Council '86 to '87 and
6 presently you are the national representative for the
7 Canadian Paperworkers Union?

8 A. That's correct.

9 Q. From '87 until the present?

10 A. Until now.

11 MADAM CHAIR: Is the microphone working?

12 MS. OMATSU: I think so. Is it still a
13 problem.

14 MADAM CHAIR: Maybe it is not close
15 enough.

16 MS. OMATSU: Q. And presently you are
17 sitting on the political action committee of the
18 Ontario Federation of Labour?

19 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. Correct.

20 Q. Today you represent the Canadian
21 Paperworkers Union; is that correct?

22 A. That's true.

23 Q. And views that you will be expressing
24 will be position of the Canadian Paperworkers Union and
25 not necessarily your own personal opinions?

1 A. The views that are contained in
2 witness statement No. 3 were put together through
3 consultation with a number of people within our
4 organization, then was reviewed by our research
5 department and ultimately authorized as the CPU's
6 position by our executive board and I am here to
7 present that statement on behalf of our union.

8 Q. While we are on the topic, this
9 document called The Environment, Our Concern, is also a
10 CPU document that sets out the policy -- is a policy
11 statement of the CPU on the environment; is that
12 correct?

13 A. That's correct.

14 MS. OMATSU: Perhaps we could file this
15 as the next exhibit, Madam Chair.

16 MADAM CHAIR: This document will become
17 Exhibit 2230. It is a 32-page document also including
18 the French version of the document and the date of
19 publication is -- Mr. Makowski, what year was this
20 published in?

21 MS. OMATSU: I actually did not find a
22 date.

23 MR. MAKOWSKI: It would have been
24 released in 1990.

25 MADAM CHAIR: 1990. Thank you. The

1 title is The Environment, Our Concern, a document on
2 the environment prepared by the Canadian Paperworkers
3 Union.

4 ---EXHIBIT NO. 2230: Document entitled The
5 Environment, Our Concern,
6 prepared by the Canadian
Paperworkers Union consisting of
32 pages.

7 MS. OMATSU: Q. I wonder, Mr. Makowski,
8 if you could please give a short history of the
9 Canadian Paperworkers Union for the Board?

10 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. Well, our union, as
11 the Canadian Paperworkers Union, has been in existence
12 about 18 years, I believe, since 1974.

13 However, our predecessor organizations
14 through which the CPU was formed have been around for a
15 good long time and basically began organizing workers
16 shortly after the turn of the century in Canada in the
17 pulp and paper industry, the forest products industry.

18 We have a long standing history of major
19 achievements in this particular field and collective
20 bargaining, for instance, in the representation of our
21 workers, the eight hour day index pensions and so on.

22 We achieved the peak of our membership in
23 the Province of Ontario in about 1989 when we had about
24 22,000 members in the Province of Ontario. To date we
25 continue to represent approximately 20,000 members in

1 Ontario and about 68,000 members across Canada.

2 Q. I would like to now turn to the
3 recommendations. I am going to ask you if you would
4 please read recommendation one into the record and then
5 expand on that recommendation.

6 A. In our recommendation No. 1 the CPU
7 urges this Board to base its ruling on several
8 principles of sustainable development recently authored
9 by the Ministry of Natural Resources.

10 These include recognition that our
11 understanding of the way the world works and how our
12 actions affect it is often incomplete. This means that
13 we exercise caution and special concern for natural
14 values in the face of such uncertainty and respect the
15 precautionary principle.

16 Our resource economy is based on a
17 complex and diverse natural environment. We must
18 recognize the value of a diversified economy based upon
19 the preservation of diversity in the natural world.

20 The development of sustainability will
21 lead to change. This change must be directed in a way
22 that attempts to be fair to all those affected.
23 Consequently, the people affected must have a real
24 voice in the decisions affecting their lives.

25 Q. Would you please expand on this

1 recommendation?

2 A. We agree with the position, the
3 policy position that's been advanced by the Ministry of
4 Natural Resources in their recent document Direction
5 90s whereby we should have a policy that adopts a
6 precautionary principle.

7 There is simply not enough data or, in
8 fact, so much conflicting data on the success of our
9 efforts in regenerating the forests that have already
10 been cut in this province and what the future holds for
11 the forest products industry vis-a-vis having a yield
12 that will be available to them.

13 The second part of that is that we
14 believe there is too much uncertainty about how the
15 present forest management practices affects the
16 environment as a whole. Not just the ability of a
17 forest crop to regenerate, but wildlife habitats, how
18 the waters are affected by practises such as spraying
19 herbicides and so on.

20 All of those factors that affect the
21 forest and potential employment that flows from that
22 forest and the potential for enjoyment of the forest by
23 people that use it for recreational activities is so
24 uncertain based on the conflicting data or lack of data
25 that we believe the only thing we can do is be cautious

1 and don't put all your eggs in one basket.

2 We should have a diversified approach to
3 how we handle the forest and we should have a
4 diversified approach to what we do with that forest in
5 the long term rather than just having low value
6 products produced as a result of harvesting that
7 natural resource.

8 We should have more value added types of
9 industries that would promote more wealth for the
10 province, more employment opportunities and when we
11 look at all of those things together we say we can't
12 put all of our eggs in one basket because the potential
13 jeopardy for the industry and the environment is too
14 great.

15 Q. Concretely, does that -- could you
16 please describe how in 1984 and '85 the CPU applied
17 this precautionary principle vis-a-vis budworm
18 spraying?

19 A. In 1984, I believe in late 1984, if I
20 recall, and 1985 the Ministry and the industry in
21 general were adopting an approach in order to control
22 the budworm infestation. It was necessary to spray
23 chemical pesticides in the forest.

24 The one in particular was Matacil, I
25 believe, the chemical agent was to be sprayed. The CPU

1 took the position at that time that the potential
2 damage to the environment was too great to risk
3 spraying that agent and there were options that were
4 available such as the spraying of a bacterial
5 pesticide. I guess that's the wrong terminology, but a
6 bacterial agent to control the budworm and, in fact, we
7 really stood almost alone in opposition to the
8 company's position that if we didn't spray the future
9 of the mills were in jeopardy as a result of the fiber
10 resource being in jeopardy.

11 However, through much lobbying the
12 Ministry ultimately made a decision to almost totally
13 reduce or eliminate the spraying that was going to be
14 done by chemicals and, in fact, limited it to very
15 small especially infested areas and in fact I suppose,
16 although budworm infestation continues to be a very
17 cyclical thing that we will probably face again and
18 again, it seems that the crisis has passed.

19 Q. Would you please read recommendation
20 2 into the record?

21 A. In recommendation No. 2 we urge that
22 the Board address the institutional constraints,
23 comprehensive resource management that are inherent in
24 a management system in which two separate
25 organizations, the Ontario Ministry of Natural

1 Resources and private licence holders, are both
2 responsible for different parts of the same plan.

3 Q. Would you please expand on this
4 recommendation?

5 A. We thought that this issue should be
6 raised, although we recognize that the issue of tenure
7 for the forest industry is one that necessarily may be
8 dealt with in some other forum, but we see a natural
9 conflict with vesting in the company's the
10 responsibility for reforestation when their
11 responsibility - and we don't say this in a negative
12 fashion at this point - but their responsibility is to
13 the bottom line, to their shareholders.

14 So the incentive to them is to get the
15 cheapest fiber supply that's available to them. Our
16 concern is if there are corners to be cut those
17 opportunities will be taken.

18 It is akin I suppose to a fox guarding a
19 chicken house, if you like, but we believe that the
20 Board has to recognize that conflict that's present and
21 in light of that we believe that there should be, as we
22 have recommended throughout our document, consultation
23 and true meaningful input with people that are affected
24 at every level that decisions are made with regard to
25 the forest.

1 Q. Would you please read
2 recommendation --

3 MR. MARTEL: Before you go on. Can I
4 just stop there because we have heard repeatedly, both
5 by the Ministry and the industry, that it is in fact
6 necessary to combine the two, the harvesting and the
7 regeneration, to provide the security that the industry
8 needs.

9 I harken you back to the days when that
10 was being shuffled back and forth like a hot potato as
11 to who was going to do it, first the industry and then the
12 Ministry and back to the industry and back to the
13 Ministry.

14 So we have a long history of wrestling
15 with this one, Mr. Makowski, and obviously we don't
16 have any consensus now because the position taken by
17 the industry and the Ministry are directly opposite to
18 what you are presenting today.

19 MR. MAKOWSKI: We're aware of that.

20 MR. MARTEL: You are aware of that?

21 MR. MAKOWSKI: Yes.

22 MR. MARTEL: And you still...

23 MR. MAKOWSKI: We also share, I suppose,
24 the concern -- or recognize I suppose is a better way
25 to phrase it, the concern of the industry whereby

1 they want a secured source of fiber in order to, I -
2 suppose, justify long-term capital investment in
3 operations. We recognize that.

4 What we're saying is that the Board must
5 recognize that there is an inherent conflict in vesting
6 the responsibility for reforestation with the company
7 that's answerable to its bottom line.

8 The beginnings of how to deal with that
9 may be through having local people or affected people
10 involved not just in a fringe manner, but in a true
11 meaningful manner in the decision-making processes at
12 every level.

13 That's not to say that the guarantees if
14 the companies meet the terms that are set out by the
15 decisions that are made by these various committees --
16 if the companies meet the conditions that are required
17 that the guarantees for long-term access to fiber
18 supply won't be there, the tenure won't be there, but
19 we believe the system has to address this inherent
20 conflict.

21 MS. OMATSU: Q. Would you please read
22 recommendation 3 into the record?

23 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. Ontario must reorient
24 its forest research programs in the direction of
25 practical techniques of ecologically responsible

1 forestry. Such research should emphasize operations
2 that differ from conventional practises of industrial
3 forestry now prevailing.

4 Pilot projects of operational size should
5 be developed a representative sample of forest
6 conditions across the area of the undertaking.

7 The goal of such long-term ecological
8 research program would be to find out more about how
9 ecosystems work and how they can be stablized with
10 particular reference to sustainable resource
11 management.

12 Q. Would you please expand on this
13 recommendation?

14 A. We believe for the most part research
15 being conducted by the agencies that are responsible
16 for the Ministry or the Ministry itself at this point
17 in time are focused on, for lack of a better phrase,
18 how we can get the maximum yield from our forest
19 resource and not necessarily how we can maintain the
20 forest as a whole, as an ecosystem, a habitat, an
21 enjoyable recreational opportunity for people that live
22 in remote communities and so on.

23 So what we're suggesting in
24 recommendation No. 3 is that the focus of research
25 programs in the province be changed so that the

1 emphasis is on ecologically responsible forestry rather
2 than plantation style agricultural forestry, and that
3 it must be done by having pilot projects that are
4 sufficient in size to have a representative sampling of
5 the conditions that are available or conditions that
6 are in front of us across the entire province sample so
7 we have a database on which we can decide on a
8 site-specific basis, for instance, what type of forest
9 management practice to approve in particular areas.

10 Q. Would you please read recommendation
11 4 into the record?

12 A. In recommendation No. 4 we urge that
13 the Board's decision reflect a conception of the
14 environment as defined in the Environmental Assessment
15 Act so as to broaden the emphasis on wood and timber to
16 encompass a range of values inherent to and flowing
17 from the public forest; that the proponent be required
18 to base this undertaking on the principle of
19 sustainability as defined in its own statement of
20 policy Direction 90s; that within a year the proponent
21 reduce the maximum size of clearcuts areas to 250
22 hectares as was required by law in Quebec in 1989, that
23 leave strips between cut blocks be a minimum of 100
24 metres wide; that the proponent conduct detailed
25 studies of actual effects of wide range logging systems

1 and silvicultural strategies on the long-term
2 sustainability of the forest.

3 Q. Would you please expand on
4 recommendation No. 4?

5 A. We believe the Environmental
6 Assessment Act has an appropriate definition or concept
7 of the environment. It's very wide sweeping and talks
8 about all of the things that interact in the
9 environment today including man and including the
10 things that man brings into the environment and all of
11 those things have to be considered as a package and not
12 in isolation.

13 We propose the reduction of clearcuts to
14 a maximum of 250 hectares. In fact, there is a no
15 limitation at this point, as we understand it, in the
16 Province of Ontario and in 1989 Quebec moved to reduce
17 or limit their clearcut size to 250 hectares - they too
18 had prior to that no limitation - with a minimum buffer
19 zone of 100 metres between cut blocks.

20 We don't know if that's the right size.
21 We think that Quebec moved in the right direction in
22 reducing the size of the clearcut, and as part of our
23 overall strategy what we are suggesting is that if we
24 look on a site-specific basis at what is the most
25 appropriate forest management practice and it is

1 decided that a larger clearcut style of operation is
2 appropriate, we think it nonetheless should be limited
3 to 250 hectares.

4 In Quebec, in fact, they are going to be
5 moving to further reduce the size and that's based, as
6 I understand it, on the fact that the average clearcut
7 in Quebec is -- in southern Quebec is 14 hectares, the
8 average in northern Quebec is 33 hectares and, as we
9 understand it, the average in Ontario is 260 hectares,
10 although we do recognize there are some significantly
11 larger clearcuts that are out there.

12 So, again, we don't know if that number
13 is the right one, but I think there is a recognition by
14 many people that massive clearcuts are the wrong way to
15 go, particularly if that's the only way we are going
16 and that we should move to reduce or put a maximum
17 number of those clearcuts.

18 Q. Would you please read recommendation
19 5 into the record?

20 A. The CPU recommends that the Board's
21 finding take into explicit account the results of the
22 unique audit now being completed under the auspices of
23 the proponent.

24 We also recommend that before concluding
25 its hearing the Board call special witnesses, the

1 three-person team, conducting the audit so as to
2 solicit its view about the state of forestry in
3 northern Ontario.

4 Q. Would you please expand on this
5 recommendation?

6 A. I can, but I really think it's really
7 quite self-evident.

8 The audit that's being conducted by
9 Professor Herden, I believe, an independent audit, is
10 one that is long overdue. There is, as I pointed out
11 earlier, so much conflicting data on the success of our
12 regeneration efforts and so on, the available resource
13 that remains in Ontario's forests, that this panel in
14 order -- this Board in order to make a decision based
15 on everything it has in front of them must take into
16 account the views and the findings of the audit panel.

17 In other words, before we know where we
18 are going we have to know where we are.

19 Q. Would you please read recommendation
20 6 into the record?

21 A. We urge that the Board's finding
22 directly address the structural problem that centres
23 around the way that silvicultural strategy is
24 developed.

25 The proponent must ensure that short-term

1 logging costs not take precedence over long-term
2 silvicultural cost and environmental considerations.

3 We urge that the proponent introduce an
4 evaluation system for logging machines or logging
5 systems. Under this system private operators working
6 on public land would be required to provide detailed
7 assessments the environment effects and the
8 silvicultural implications of proposed innovations
9 before they are introduced on an operational basis.

10 Q. Again, would you please expand on
11 this recommendation?

12 A. What we're dealing with in
13 recommendation No. 6 is a recommendation that's
14 particular to mechanical methods of harvesting.

15 We have seen over the last number of
16 years that mechanization has increased. I think we
17 have seen an increase in the amount of clearcuts, the
18 size of the clearcuts as one aspect.

19 We also recognize that there is some
20 studies that have been conducted that have shown that
21 the use of mechanical equipment has resulted in damage
22 to seedbeds and so on.

23 So we are concerned about, again, an
24 inherent conflict where companies will use
25 mechanization, the newest technology in order to lower

1 their costs and at the same time that innovation
2 results in damage to the environment.

3 We think that there should be an
4 evaluation system, as we have suggested, of logging
5 machines and systems to establish which can be
6 considered environmentally friendly or probably more
7 appropriately put, which is the least environmentally
8 damaging, which are the lesser of some evils.

9 Q. Moving on to the next recommendation,
10 would you please read it into the record?

11 A. We urge that the Board direct the
12 proponent to increase the proportion of what it calls
13 modified cutting, thus adopting a more balanced and
14 economical silvicultural strategy that places greater
15 emphasis on natural regeneration.

16 What we're suggesting here is that other
17 cutting alternatives to massive clearcuts be adopted
18 and that we should increase the percentage of those.

19 I think it flows again from our basic
20 thrust and that is that we must take a more diversified
21 approach, a more precautionary approach because we
22 don't know what the long-term effects are over two
23 rotations of our forest. I'm sure none of us will be
24 around in 150 or 180 years when we can see the effects
25 of what we're doing now.

1 So we think there has to be a more
2 diversed approach. That would call for more emphasis
3 on alternative methods besides clearcutting. We think
4 it should be determined on a site-specific basis.

5 We are not saying that we should
6 eliminate clearcutting, as we pointed out in our
7 earlier recommendation. What we're suggesting is if it
8 is the alternative that is acceptable for a specific
9 site the clearcut should then be limited to a certain
10 size and we're suggesting the 250 hectares, but the
11 alternatives should be considered more often and should
12 be explored and we should be able to study by the
13 increased use of those alternatives the effects over
14 the long term.

15 Q. Would you please read recommendation
16 8 into the record?

17 A. We urge that the Board direct the
18 proponent to continue the reduction already underway so
19 that herbicides can be eliminated in forest management.

20 Again, that's a very straightforward
21 recommendation on our part. We oppose the introduction
22 of chemical agents in the forest and we believe there
23 are alternatives that can be developed and certainly
24 one of the alternatives is more manual tending in the
25 forest, more labour intensive approach to controlling

1 growth that isn't wanted.

2 Again, we have some concern, however,
3 about creating monoculture or monospecies forests where
4 they are not representative of the forests that were
5 there in the first place.

6 Q. Would you please read recommendation
7 9 into the record?

8 A. We urge that the Board recognize that
9 climate change has a serious potential implication for
10 the Ontario forest industry for Ontario forests.

11 Q. Would you please expand on that
12 recommendation?

13 A. This one isn't that straightforward.
14 Obviously, there is much difference of opinion on what
15 the future holds for us as far as global warming and
16 climate change is concerned, but, again, if we are to
17 adopt, as is laid out in Direction '90s, the
18 precautionary principle, I think we have to recognize
19 that if some scientists are correct in what they
20 predict, as far as global warming is concerned, that
21 the implications and the effect and ramifications on
22 the boreal forest will be dramatic.

23 We must recognize that as a possible
24 future that we face and develop our forest strategy
25 with at least a recognition that that is a potential

1 that we may have to face.

2 Q. Would you please read the last
3 recommendation into the record?

4 A. To ensure the sustainability of the
5 undertaking the proponent should be required to
6 establish a program for the training and accreditation
7 of forest workers in the principles and practices of
8 environmental forestry.

9 This program should be developed jointly
10 between government, labour unions, tenure holders and
11 existing educational institutions. Tenure holders
12 should bear a significant part of the cost of
13 delivering such training.

14 After a specified period of time
15 following the inception of the program companies would
16 be obliged to make accreditation a prerequisite ofr the
17 hiring of new employees in woodlands operations. Such
18 programs should also be offered to existing employees
19 as part of a paid educational leave plan.

20 Q. Would you please expand on this
21 recommendation?

22 A. Sure. I can start off by saying that
23 during my earlier years as a national representative I
24 was responsible for the area of the province basically
25 west of Thunder Bay to the Manitoba border, and I had

1 the occasion during that time to organize and represent
2 at that time about a 400-, 450-man bargaining unit
3 comprised of woodlands workers, tree planters and so
4 on, employees engaged in road construction in the
5 woodlands -- on the company's woodlands limits.

6 On many occasions during the period of
7 time that I represented those people, employees, our
8 members would come to me or the local union officers
9 with questions in their own minds about whether they
10 were engaging in good environmental practices.

11 Some of the examples people were
12 concerned about how close they are cutting to bodies of
13 water and was that right -- in fact in some cases they
14 were cutting right down to the water's edge. We know
15 that is not right.

16 They were concerned in road construction
17 crews about how they were handling the crossing of
18 streams and creeks and so on. In many cases there were
19 some rerouting that had gone on. They didn't know if
20 the practices they were engaged in were right. They
21 knew what they had been instructed.

22 Some other concerns were large areas of
23 clearcut that had previously been prime moose hunting
24 grounds and the moose had dried up, they disappeared
25 from that area where they had traditionally been for

1 years and years and they were concerned about the
2 implications and the ramifications of what they were
3 doing daily in their work on the environment.

4 So we recognize that the people are
5 concerned, No. 1, about not only their jobs and how the
6 environment in the long term will affect their jobs,
7 but how it affects them day-to-day, how it affects them
8 in their recreational activities, in their hunting, in
9 their trapping.

10 There are a significant amount of
11 trappers and although that's not the most popular
12 endeavor in southern Ontario it is a way of life for
13 many people in northern Ontario and these people were
14 concerned about it and they had a lot of questions and
15 they didn't have the answers. They wanted to have the
16 answers.

17 So we suggested that there be training
18 programs for forestry workers that will educate them on
19 a wide spectrum of environmental issues. You know, in
20 a broader sense, how everything reacts and interacts
21 together, what the options are, what the rules are, I
22 suppose, is there a different method that they can
23 operate their skidder, can they avoid some growth
24 rather than just trampling it down, can they avoid
25 running continually through soft ground areas and

1 destroying the seedbeds so that nothing will every grow
2 there again.

3 All of those things I think are part of
4 what should be included in a program that we think
5 should be paid for or provided jointly by the
6 government and the companies that are engaged in
7 harvesting in forests.

8 We think it will arm those people in
9 three ways. No. 1, it will give them the education
10 they require to be able to practise better
11 environmental methods during their day-to-day cutting.

12 It will provide them with a better -- or
13 with an opportunity to as a policeman, if you like, in
14 the woods where if they are instructed to perform a
15 practice that they know is not an environmentally sound
16 one they can bring it to somebody's attention; and the
17 third thing is it will better them as individuals to
18 participate in the process, the forums that are
19 available to them to, you know, have their input as
20 individuals in environmental issues, the open house
21 type of forum, which right now for the average forest
22 worker is a very intimidating atmosphere for them to be
23 participating in.

24 If they have a bit of knowledge they will
25 be able to better get their views across and they will

1 have the knowledge base to know whether what they're
2 saying is in fact -- has some substance. We think that
3 they can advance themselves in those three areas with
4 the training that we suggest.

5 Q. Does the Canadian Paperworkers Union
6 provide any training on this subject?

7 A. On environmental matters? Quite
8 honestly, no we have not to this date provided any
9 training of environmental matters in that sense. We
10 obviously could be doing more than what we are. I
11 suppose we all could.

12 When we produced our paper, The
13 Environment, Our Concern, in 1990 - and I sit on the
14 national education committee or for our union as well -
15 we intended at that point to develop a vehicle to
16 deliver our message on the environment through that
17 document, with the assistance of that document through
18 training programs at the local level.

19 That didn't happen for a number of
20 reasons. 1990 was our major negotiating year and we
21 got into that and we still haven't completed our
22 thoughts in doing that.

23 However, we do provide a lot of steward
24 training and committee member training and during those
25 sessions we do hand out a copy of our document and we

1 do talk for about a two-hour period on environmental
2 matters and how they affect us day-to-day in our
3 working environment and in our recreational activities.

4 So we could do more. There's no question
5 about that.

6 Q. Has the CPU ever been successful or
7 attempted to negotiate an environmental clause in its
8 collective agreements?

9 A. Every collective agreement that we've
-10 renewed since 1990 has had a request on our agenda for
11 environmental committees to be established at the work
12 places where we represent the members.

13 I can tell you that we have been -- we've
14 got a lot of lip service from the people we negotiate
15 with at the bargaining table. They say, yes, we
16 believe very strongly in the environment, but there is
17 no way that we are having environmental committees in
18 our work places, and to this date we have not been
19 successful in having one of those committees set up,
20 although we continue and will continue to attempt to
21 negotiate them at every work place where we represent
22 workers.

23 MR. MARTEL: Did they give you some
24 reason why they are not prepared, particularly in view
25 of the position they have taken at this hearing?

1 MR. MAKOWSKI: Well, there has been a
2 number of reasons advanced. Some of them I wouldn't
3 care to repeat in a public forum, but for the most part
4 I can tell you that they have suggested that they are
5 environmentally responsible and they don't need a
6 bi-partite committee in the work place to ensure that
7 they are and those -- we have also attempted, just as a
8 point of clarification, to negotiate these provisions
9 not only in our mill agreements and sawmill agreements,
10 but also in the forest workers agreements where we
11 represent them.

12 It is not unlike, Mr. Martel, I suppose
13 the line that the companies took some years ago with
14 regard to health and safety where they didn't need to
15 have the union's involvement to police on the health
16 and safety. They always considered that the health and
17 safety of their workers was their number one priority
18 and, quite honestly, we do differ and they do need
19 somebody to police them.

20 If legislation doesn't require the
21 committees it is extremely hard to negotiate those
22 particular committees.

23 MS. OMATSU: Q. Do you have anything
24 further to add before we move on to the next witness?

25 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. No.

1 Q. Thank you. Your name is Professor

2 Ian Radforth?

3 PROFESSOR RADFORTH: A. That's right.

4 Q. And you are appearing this morning as
5 a witness for the Canadian Paperworkers Union?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. You have prepared witness statement
8 No. 1 which has been filed as an exhibit with the Board
9 and as well your resume has been filed with the Board
10 as Exhibit No. 2228 and your witness statement is
11 2227A; is that correct?

12 A. That's correct.

13 Q. I would like to lead you through your
14 resume highlighting some relevant points.

15 Since 1983 you have been on the staff of
16 the history department at the University of Toronto; is
17 that correct?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And presently you are an Associate
20 Professor of history?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. In 1985 your Ph.D thesis, Bush
23 Workers and Bosses, was revised -- was your Ph.D thesis
24 and then you revised that and turned it into this book
25 which was published two years later by U of T press?

1 A. That's correct.

2 Q. I wonder if you could tell us a
3 little bit about this book, Bush Workers and Bosses?

4 A. My book traces the history of the
5 Ontario forest industry from about 1900 through to
6 about 1980 and it emphasizes the history of workers in
7 the industry, the changing nature of work in the
8 industry, technological change, particularly looking at
9 changing logging practices over time and it also has
10 quite a bit to say about labour relations in the
11 Ontario forest industry in this period.

12 Q. Is it fair to say then it is the only
13 book on the history of workers and the Ontario forest
14 industry that you know of, the only academic book?

15 A. That's right. It is the only
16 scholarly study of Ontario forest workers and the
17 Ontario forest industry for the 20th century period.

18 Q. Is it also fair to say that it is the
19 only academic study that examines closely the history
20 of logging methods in northern Ontario woods workers
21 and labour relations in the industry?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Now, in terms of your expertise, you
24 are a historian expert in Canadian history and
25 presently you are Chair of the Canadian historians at

1 the University of Toronto; is that correct?

2 A. That's right.

3 Q. And that you are a specialist in
4 Canadian labour history and you are active in the
5 labour history group within the Canadian Historical
6 Association?

7 A. Yes. I have been an active labour
8 historian and I participate regularly in national
9 events in labour history.

10 Q. And in particular you specialize in
11 the labour history of the Ontario forest industry?

12 A. That's correct. I have spent about
13 10 years doing archival work and field work in the
14 history of the Ontario forest history and I continue to
15 do that. I will be working on further projects this
16 summer.

17 Q. And that much of your expertise lies
18 in the history of logging methods in northern Ontario,
19 including technological change?

20 A. Yes, that's right.

21 Q. You received several -- you received
22 an interrogatory question and I would like to ask you
23 if you are a forester?

24 A. No, I'm not a forester.

25 Q... And are you an expert on

1 silvicultural or forest management?

2 A. No, I'm not.

3 MS. OMATSU: For the purposes of this
4 hearing I would like to Board to qualify you as an
5 expert in the history of logging methods and the
6 history of the Ontario forest industry.

7 MADAM CHAIR: Are there any objections?

8 (no response)

9 Professor Radforth will be so qualified.

10 MS. OMATSU: Thank you.

11 Q. I wonder if you could please tell us
12 what conclusions about the forest industry you have
13 drawn from your years of research on this subject in
14 broad brush and then we will go into detail from
15 your conclusions?

16 PROFESSOR RADFORTH: A. Yes. The
17 Ontario forest industry is in crisis. Our forests are
18 in crisis and I believe that this current crisis has
19 deep historical roots, that it is worthwhile looking
20 at historical background, look at those historical
21 roots in order to understand better where we are today
22 and how we might proceed to address the problems.

23 From my historical research I have
24 reached three major conclusions that I would like to
25 emphasize here today.

1 The first is that when the industry was
2 founded early in the 20th century business and
3 government at that time formed an informal partnership
4 to maximize economic development. Their whole raison
5 d'entre was to promote economic development, create
6 business opportunities and jobs.

7 At that time the resource appeared
8 limitless; there seemed to be endless forests in the
9 north. Neither business nor government gave much
10 consideration to the impact that these forest
11 industries would have on the northern environment, the
12 northern forest. They didn't take into account in the
13 early days the long-term social costs of utilizing the
14 resource or the environmental costs.

15 The second point I would like to make is
16 that businesses and the government had a short frame of
17 reference. Businesses tends to look to the year-end
18 balance sheet assuring investors a return on their
19 investment and governments tended to look to the next
20 election and they didn't look very far ahead. All of
21 this was evident in the way in which they conducted
22 their logging practices in northern Ontario.

23 Overwhelmingly the government stood back
24 from interfering in any way with the methods of the
25 companies. The companies then proceeded to log the

1 resource giving top priority to finding least cost
2 methods. Cost defined in immediate financial terms.
3 They were interested in getting wood cheaply to their
4 mill each season.

5 Logging techniques changed drastically
6 over the course of the 20th century but that priority
7 of finding least cost methods has remained a constant.

8 My third point is simply that these
9 patterns became very well established and continued for
10 a long time and they continued to have an influence on
11 the way in which logging takes place in this province
12 today and it is my concern that if long-term patterns
13 are not altered we will get into even deeper problems.

14 Q. Thank you. I would like to now deal
15 with your first conclusion; namely, that business and
16 government formed an informal partnership and I think
17 the period of time that you are talking with initially
18 is pre-Depression, 1890 to 1929; is that correct?

19 A. That's right. That's when the modern
20 forest industry was put into place.

21 Q. What was the publicly accepted view
22 of Ontario forests during this period when the industry
23 was initially founded?

24 A. The general attitude was that there
25 was a vast potential resource there that simply needed

1 to be tapped.

2 Earlier on in the 19th century the
3 attitude towards the north was that it was a great
4 wasteland, perhaps useful to the fur trade but of
5 little apparent use to a modern industrial economy.

6 Towards the end of the 19th century
7 scientists, politicians, everyone began to realize
8 there was potential in the north, that there were
9 valuable resources there, minerals, forests, so forth,
10 hydroelectric sites that might be utilized and if only
11 investment could be attracted to the north, why then
12 value would be given, financial given, economic value
13 would be given to those forests.

14 Q. Would you please tell us about the
15 origins of the modern forest industry in northern
16 Ontario and how it was that the industry came into
17 being? This is the same period?

18 A. Yes, we are talking about the period
19 when the industry first developed.

20 The provincial government under the
21 British North America Act had, of course,
22 responsibility for the Crown forests and it wanted to
23 act as a catalyst to see this development occur.

24 Governments in the late 19th century were
25 keen to be seen to promoting development. Everybody

1 believed in the growth. The federal government in
2 Ottawa had its national policy whereby it tried to use
3 tariffs and western development to fuel the growth of
4 the entire Canadian economy while the provincial
5 government tried to develop a parallel policy of using
6 the resources of northern Ontario to create business
7 opportunities, to create jobs, communities and let's
8 fuel the provincial economy.

9 The province made it known that the Crown
10 forests were there for the asking if investors were
11 willing to become involved in development.

12 The first to strike a deal in the pulp
13 and paper sector with the provincial government was a
14 fellow by the name of Francis Clergue. I might just
15 tell you a little bit about him. He was a kind of a
16 frolicking entrepreneur who had travelled the globe
17 looking for business opportunities in Africa and South
18 American and he arrived in the early 1890s at Sault
19 Ste. Marie in northern Ontario and saw there a
20 wonderful hydro electric site and he saw a fine spruce
21 forest that might be used for pulpwood production.

22 He was able to strike a deal to get
23 access to those forests and the contract that he signed
24 in 1982 with the provincial government became a kind of
25 model contract for subsequent agreements.

1 Clergue was promised that if he could get
2 a consortium together then we could have access to 50
3 square miles of Crown forests in the vicinity of the
4 Sault at a very modern stumpage charge. In return he
5 had to promise to actually build a mill and create
6 jobs.

7 In the contract there were no details
8 whatsoever about the logging practices, about how this
9 forest would be used in any precise way. The point was
10 simply economic development.

11 Clergue was a success. The Sault mill
12 was built and the government was pleased with this, but
13 it soon discovered that development did not proceed as
14 quickly as they hoped, that there were not further
15 mills being built. So the provincial government
16 undertook a very aggressive policy at this point.

17 In 1900 it introduced something called
18 the manufacturing condition into all pulpwood
19 agreements that might be signed. It was the province's
20 contention that all Crown forests that were cut in the
21 province should be processed within the province.

22 The idea was to encourage investors not
23 simply to raid the forest and tow logs across the upper
24 Great Lakes to mills in the United States, that looked
25 like the loss of jobs and made the Ontario public and

1 voters angry, instead the objective was to create jobs
2 by insisting in a very forthright way that if you want
3 to use our Crown forests, then they must be processed
4 here in Ontario.

5 It's really quite impressive just how far
6 the provincial government at that time, back in the
7 1900, was willing to go in insisting on economic
8 development and in terms of economic development the
9 policy soon turned out to be a great success.

10 In the nineteen teens and 1920s giant
11 pulp and paper mills were built in northern Ontario.
12 Most of the mills that we have today were first built
13 in this period. Considerable U.S. investment was
14 attracted and these were huge investments by the
15 standards of the day.

16 Almost overnight single resource towns
17 were created in the north by these vertically
18 integrated companies that conducted logging operations,
19 that made pulp, that made paper products, particularly
20 newsprint. Some of them were even further integrated
21 and actually published newspapers. The New York Times
22 was involved in mill development in northern Ontario.

23 Mostly they manufactured either pulp for
24 export or more likely newsprint. It seems that many of
25 the U.S. mills decided that the production of newsprint

1 was putting too heavy a toll on their mills, that they
2 were in danger of losing a valuable resource close to
3 their mills, so they converted their mills to the
4 production of high value added products for a
5 protective market in the United States. They turned to
6 northern Ontario resources in order to supply newsprint
7 mills which are very -- put a heavy toll on the use of
8 the forest.

9 This pattern, of course, of large scale
10 integrated companies operating in the north producing
11 low value added products has continued on for some
12 decades, though of course in more recent years we have
13 seen these vertically integrated companies become much
14 larger as multi-nationals have bought one another out
15 and so forth.

16 Q. Would you please describe the
17 relationship between business and government in this
18 period, pre-Depression?

19 A. Well, essentially the provincial
20 government and these forest companies worked closely
21 together in a symbiotic relationship in the interest of
22 promoting development. Both of them were committed to
23 seeing jobs created.

24 At times it seems that this priority,
25 this concern with economic development could get the

1 better of the companies and that even the regulations
2 of the Department of Lands and Forests would be
3 overturned in the interest of promoting rapid
4 development and seeing a rapid return on capital.

5 The timber scandal of 1919 exposed some
6 of the problems inherent in the policies of the day.
7 It became public knowledge that there was wrongdoing in
8 the Department of Lands and Forests and that a royal
9 commission was struck in 1919 that sat for about three
10 years and investigated the various charges.

11 This captured front page headlines when
12 it was shown that the former minister of Lands and
13 Forests had been making secret deals with his business
14 friends. He had offered them vast pulpwood concessions
15 and other timber rights at bargain basement prices.

16 He had also contravened the requirements
17 of manufacturing condition and allowed pulpwood to be
18 exported to the United States.

19 All of this might have very politically
20 embarrassing for this conservative politician, but in
21 fact he appeared before the hearing with great
22 confidence and spoke with great gusto about how we had
23 done just the right thing in promoting economic
24 development. He had done what was best for the
25 province. He knew what was best and if the regulations

1 stood in the way that was too bad. The trick was to
2 get businesses going in the north. That is what was
3 most important.

4 Apparently, in the 1920s that went done
5 quite well with the public. There was very little
6 concern about what he had to say. As a matter of fact,
7 Ferguson himself was soon made leader of the Ontario
8 Conservative Party and shortly afterwards elected
9 premier of the province.

10 From the premier's office he continued to
11 promote these same kind of policies, rapid development,
12 little concern for the long-term social implications
13 and he constantly reassured American investors that
14 nothing the Department of Lands and Forest would do
15 would stand in the way or restrict them in undertaking
16 their businesses in a successful and satisfactory
17 manner.

18 Q. Professor Radforth, is it fair to
19 expect that in these early days that either the
20 government or the industry would have taken stewardship
21 of the forest seriously?

22 Were there any critics of government
23 policy at that time?

24 A. Well, yes. We might expect that
25 things might have different. There were critics.

1 There was a conservation movement that developed as
2 early as the 1880s in Ontario.

3 It looked to European models of forestry,
4 careful reforestation, scientific study and there were
5 articulate voices that were, in fact, heard by the
6 government.

7 The government responded early on to some
8 of the pressures from the conservation movement. The
9 creation of Algonquin Park is an example of this kind
10 of thing created in the 1890s as a wildlife preserve, a
11 forest reserve and a place to protect the headwaters of
12 various rivers.

13 The government also made important
14 gestures in the direction of conservation. In 1903,
15 after there was public criticism of some of this
16 no-hold barred economic progress the provincial
17 government created the office of a provincial forester
18 for the first time and they appointed an individual to
19 that position; the first chief provincial forester of
20 Ontario who was very knowledgeable in sustained yield
21 forestry.

22 He had studied European methods and he
23 advocated publicly and was met with great persistence
24 that Ontario needed cutting plans, it needed to adopt
25 sustained yield as the principle for forestry

1 operations, it needed massive reforestation efforts
2 funded. He said that all the revenues derived from the
3 forest should be put back into reforestation. Well, as
4 it turned out the chief forester was ignored on every
5 one of these recommendations. He soon became
6 frustrated in his job, quit and went off to California.

7 The provincial government also made a
8 gesture in this direction by establishing the School of
9 Forestry at the University of Toronto. It is now the
10 Faculty of Forestry at the University of Toronto.

11 This was in 1907 and they appointed a
12 European trained forester by the name of Bernhard
13 Fernow to the position. He had extensive experience in
14 Germany and he had taught at Cornell University in the
15 United States.

16 He taught students about European style
17 plantation forestry and trained a cadre of expert
18 foresters. Unfortunately, many of these graduates had
19 trouble getting jobs in Ontario where they could have
20 any direct influence on how logging operations took
21 place. They were assigned to positions as researchers
22 with the government, they were assigned to tasks
23 reforesting the abandoned farms of southern Ontario,
24 but they were kept away from the companies. The
25 government didn't want them to interfere with the

1 companies and the companies themselves showed a
2 reluctance to hire theoretical men, as they put it.

3 So the result was that the government had
4 information about alternative methods, warnings were
5 sounded at a very early point even before most of the
6 businesses were established, and yet the government
7 chose not to interfere and that remained the situation
8 for several decades; very minimal interference, very
9 minimal responses to the pressures of the conservation
10 movement.

11 MADAM CHAIR: Excuse me. Professor
12 Radforth, could you point out for the Board what is
13 the -- the political and social and economic history
14 that you have given so far about the forest industry
15 holds much in common with the genesis of the
16 transportation industry and mining and hydro electric
17 power in northern Ontario, those same sorts of
18 pressures and motivations are very I think akin to what
19 we saw generally in the industrial base as it is grew
20 in northern Ontario.

21 PROFESSOR RADFORTH: Yes.

22 MADAM CHAIR: Could you comment just very
23 briefly on what you have said so far that is unique
24 about the timber industry, or are we tracing
25 historically this is factually what happened and the

1 importance is what it has done today with respect to
2 the situation we find ourselves in, or is there
3 something that has happened historically that you think
4 is unique to forestry and happened nowhere else?

5 Am I wrong in that what you are saying
6 has been a somewhat common experience in northern
7 Ontario with respect to all its industrial development?

8 PROFESSOR RADFORTH: Yes. There is a
9 very good book that packages hydro electric power,
10 mineral development and forest development together and
11 studies them in terms of economic development. That is
12 by the historian H.B. Nelles, Politics of Development.

13 Certainly he draws out very clearly I
14 think that there are certain similarities for each of
15 these industries, but it's also true that things were a
16 little different in the forest industry because the
17 Crown had such authority in that industry. It owned
18 the forests, it controlled them and had the right to
19 give companies cutting rights, it had the right to
20 establish regulations and so forth and there were
21 pressures pushing the government in that direction.
22 The government generally chose not to follow those
23 pressures.

24 In some other industries they didn't have
25 the same leverage. In the case of minerals, when a

1 company bought mineral rights it really bought the
2 whole package and the company ended up with more or
3 less complete control of development and there was very
4 little legal access or leverage that the provincial
5 government could have in that industry. So there are
6 some contrasts along the way.

7 MR. MARTEL: By design, though, wasn't
8 it? I mean, they still owned the resource, chose not
9 to get involved in ensuring or policing the way it was
10 developed. Just let it go just as it did with
11 forestry.

12 PROFESSOR RADFORTH: Mm-hmm.

13 MR. MARTEL: It was still a product that
14 somebody got a lease for, somebody else got a licence
15 for. The government simply, it would appear
16 historically at least, just they chose to let somebody
17 develop it in the way that the corporate sector decided
18 was best.

19 PROFESSOR RADFORTH: Certainly the end
20 result was similar. The legal details are a little
21 different.

22 MS. OMATSU: Madam Chair, is this an
23 appropriate time to take a break?

24 MADAM CHAIR: This is our normal break
25 time. Mr. Martel and I normally have our 20-minute

1 morning break now and if it is not inconvenient for
2 Professor Radforth we would do that.

3 PROFESSOR RADFORTH: Certainly.

4 MADAM CHAIR: We will be back in 20
5 minutes. Thank you.

6 ---Recess at 10:30 a.m.

7 ---On resuming at 10:55 a.m.

8 MADAM CHAIR: Please be seated.

9 MS. OMATSU: Actually, Madam Chair, Mr.
10 Martel, that was an appropriate intermission because we
11 are now going to have some slides.

12 Q. Professor Radforth, would you please
13 state your second recommendation and then we will go
14 into your slide presentation.

15 PROFESSOR RADFORTH: A. Well, my second
16 point is that--

17 Q. Yes, sorry.

18 A. --I want to illustrate the way in
19 which this informal partnership between business and
20 government was carried out in terms of logging
21 practises.

22 I want to emphasize that the provincial
23 authorities gave the companies a free hand in
24 conducting their logging operations, finding methods
25 that worked best for the companies and the companies,

1 while they changed their methods over time, always
2 assessed methods primarily or overwhelmingly in terms
3 of their immediate financial costs.

4 I want to begin by describing logging
5 conditions -- logging methods I should say in northern
6 Ontario in the early part of this century when the
7 modern pulp and paper industry was first put into
8 place.

9 About 35,000 men worked seasonally,
10 mostly in the fall and winter time, in the logging
11 camps of northern Ontario once the industry was well
12 underway by the 1920s, say. Many of these men came
13 from farms and they were often very young men who had a
14 bit of training on the farm woodlot with an axe and
15 handsaw. They were not needed very much in winter time
16 on the farm and so they took jobs in the logging camps
17 to earn some extra income.

18 The logging camps also drew on
19 construction workers, other rural workers who were
20 underemployed in winter time and were eager for wages
21 at a time when there was no unemployment insurance
22 benefits.

23 The companies organized their logging on
24 a seasonal basis, taking advantage of natural
25 conditions associated mainly with ice and snow in the

1 winter time to facilitate the transport of logs in the
2 bush. Even the largest companies adopted the methods
3 that had been worked out in the 19th century by the old
4 saw log industry of the Ottawa Valley.

5 Even the largest companies that hired
6 perhaps 3,000 men each year used the camp system where
7 they would house a hundred or perhaps 200 men in a
8 logging camp, in bunk houses in remote locations in the
9 bush. The men would conduct the logging operation for
10 the winter from that camp base.

11 It proved cheaper to take the men to the
12 woods than to try to bring workers in on any kind of
13 daily basis by building roads or railways into the ever
14 moving logging sites in the bush.

15 The overall formula for logging in the
16 early days was to rely on this plentiful supply of
17 inexpensive labour; men desperate for winter work. Not
18 many tools were used. Not much money was put into the
19 kinds of camps that were built either.

20 You can see here the inside of a typical
21 bush camp. Pretty rough, pretty crude conditions. The
22 lice were everywhere, the bed bugs everywhere. These
23 camps were known to smell horribly from the wet
24 clothing that was always around and the conditions were
25 pretty rough, but the companies found that they worked

1 well for them.

2 It was inexpensive to build camps like
3 this. There wasn't much point in putting a lot of
4 money into improvements from the company's perspective
5 because the camps were only going to be used for a
6 season or two until the timber within walking distance
7 of the camp had been felled.

8 Also, it simply wasn't necessary to
9 improve things much because even though the men might
10 complain about conditions they didn't have much clout,
11 they didn't have much leverage because there were so
12 many men eager for the work and willing to do the job
13 under whatever conditions.

14 Here is a camp cookery. Again, pretty
15 rough conditions.

16 The annual logging cycle began each fall
17 before snow became too constricting to move around in
18 the bush, usually after the mosquitos were gone and it
19 was a little more comfortable to work. The tools were
20 very simple. Here you see a two-man cross hut saw
21 being used in Abitibi's limits near Iroquois Falls in
22 northeastern Ontario. The men, of course, don't have
23 much safety clothing on here, working away more or less
24 in isolation.

25 One of things that interested me about

1 ..this particular shot is the high stump height. Almost
2 the only regulation that the Department of Lands and
3 Forests put on cutting practices of the companies was
4 the stump height regulation. The stumps were to be
5 kept very, very short, but of the course the Department
6 didn't send around inspectors to make that sure that
7 was actually carried through with.

8 This picture was produced by Abitibi as a
9 promotional shot illustrating what they were doing and
10 it apparently didn't even occur to the officials that
11 they were breaking the provincial regulations here by
12 cutting stump about three feet off the ground.

13 Once enough timber had been felled, the
14 branches removed, the logs made, why it had to be
15 removed from the bush or removed from the stump area at
16 least and that usually took place as soon as the snow
17 was on the ground in the very early winter.

18 Men who came in from agricultural areas
19 with horses dragged the logs out of the bush or skidded
20 the logs out the bush pulling them behind a horse.
21 Here you can see the rear-end of a horse, a whipple
22 tree, chains attached to logs. Look at the size of
23 these pulpwood logs, by the way, being pulled through
24 the bush.

25 Eventually the logs had been to be piled.

1 Much of the job involved group work by recent
2 immigrants who had no logging experience, but could be
3 relied upon to lift these heavy logs. You will note
4 the size of the pulpwood being assembled here; long
5 sticks of pulpwood, large diameters, a very heavy job.

6 The wood was piled at skidways beside the
7 haul road and once there was enough snow on the ground
8 and midwinter conditions had arrived around about the
9 first of January, why the wood could be hauled out by
10 means of a team of horses and sleighs.

11 The wood had to be loaded on to logging
12 sleighs by a little team of workers assisted by
13 horsepower and then a teamster with his team drove his
14 sleigh down ice logging roads to a central dump site
15 for the camp. These hauling operations took place
16 between the first of January and about mid March when
17 ice conditions were optimum.

18 This was quite a dangerous operation.
19 You can imagine how these sleighs could get out of
20 control, particularly on steep downward slopes. The
21 horses had to run to try to keep up with the speed of
22 the sleigh. Sand was poured on the road to try to slow
23 things down. Safety instructions amounted to telling
24 the men jump clear if the load begins to topple.

25 The big sleigh loads of logs made their

1 away across these ice roads because the surfaces were
2 so smooth. Every night, throughout the night a tank
3 sleigh like this one, which is filling up with water at
4 a lake site, would spray the roads and then the water
5 would freeze and create a glare surface upon which
6 giant sleigh loads of logs could be moved.

7 Here's is a particularly large sleigh
8 load. This is, of course, saw wood not pulpwood here,
9 giant timbers and a ridiculously high load. This is
10 one of the things the fellows liked to do on a Sunday
11 afternoon, was see how big a load they could pile up on
12 their sleigh. The trick was you still had to be able
13 to move the sleigh with a single team of horses and
14 then you would have photographers, commercial
15 photographs would travel around from camp to camp
16 taking shots of the successes of the various camps. It
17 was kind of the competitiveness to the spirit of just
18 how good a job you could do in getting this sleigh
19 loaded.

20 The logs had to be off-loaded at the
21 other end of the haul road at the bank of a creek or
22 river or on an ice lake surface in readiness for the
23 spring drive. All the wood had to reach the water's
24 edge before about mid March and the end of the freezing
25 period.

1 The camp crew would disperse for a period
2 of time and then in spring time a new crew, some of the
3 old men coming back, would assemble -- these were the
4 river drivers who were responsible for facilitating the
5 movement of the logs considerable distances down
6 creeks.

7 Flushing was used to force the logs down
8 even quite small creeks. Water was dammed up and
9 released under controlled conditions and the men stood
10 along the banks prodding the logs onwards, sometimes
11 jumping into the logs, riding the logs and trying to
12 keep the whole things moving for fear a jam would
13 occur.

14 This was exciting work. Everything had
15 to be done in a great rush while the water conditions
16 were optimum in the spring. Ultimately, the objective
17 of course was to create a giant pulpwood pile like this
18 one at one of the big mills at Iroquois Falls, at
19 Kapuskasing, Sault Ste. Marie, Thunder Bay and so
20 forth.

21 The companies that operated the mills
22 were, of course, capital-intensive companies for their
23 time. They had a great deal of money invested in
24 machines. Again, I think this is the Iroquois Falls
25 mill in about 1920. They were concerned about the

1 traditional nature of the methods used in the logging
2 side of their business.

3 They looked rather old fashioned.

4 Relying on simple tools, relying on horses, relying on
5 large numbers of men, labour-intensive activities, and
6 various of the logging operators got together and tried
7 to devise ways of improving things and they came up
8 with some new pieces of equipment in the period before
9 World War II.

10 This is one of the early failed attempts.
11 This is a hauling device. A great big steam locomotive
12 mounted on skid -- or crawler tracks with skis at the
13 front to steer it. It was proposed that this kind of a
14 machine could pull the sleighs loaded with logs and in
15 fact a whole train of sleighs loaded with logs. It
16 would be much more powerful and there would be some
17 kind of economy involved in using just this one machine
18 instead of many, many teams.

19 Well, it turned out that this piece of
20 equipment was far too heavy and bulky. Most of the haul
21 roads were built on creek surfaces at the river bottoms
22 and this thing would push through the ice and get stuck
23 and it just didn't work very well at all.

24 More efficient were the kind of machines
25 introduced in the 1920s; gasoline powered trucks on

1 regular wheels with some chains added that could pull
2 sleighs under optimum conditions. Under the very best
3 conditions where the roads were perfect and the terrain
4 very level is why this kind of thing could work.

5 But the most important and dramatic
6 innovation of the period from 1890 right through to
7 World War II in the 1940s was the coming of the Swede
8 saw or the buck saw. Instead of using two men to drive
9 a cross-cut saw to fell the trees, why now it was
10 possible for one man to use a saw himself.

11 With the coming of the buck saw also came
12 piece rate payment systems. Particularly in the 1920s
13 companies turned from paying men by the day, usually a
14 dollar a day, now they began to pay them on the basis
15 of how many logs they cut. The fellers simply listed
16 them up, counted them up each night and reported them
17 to the camp clerk and someone would come around and
18 check to make sure that his piles were as he said and
19 he would be paid for his output.

20 This put tremendous pressure on the men
21 to work very hard and many men complained that they got
22 burned out quickly from the heavy strain of this
23 physical work put on them as they tried to produce a
24 maximum amount in a minimum amount of time and, thus,
25 enhance their earnings.

1 Q. What factors eventually led to
2 changes in logging techniques?

3 A. During the 1940s, this traditional
4 system began to break down. It did so for a number of
5 reasons.

6 It had partly do with the fact that
7 product markets and pulp and paper were becoming highly
8 competitive. In the southern United States mills had
9 suddenly developed in the 1940s that could produce
10 newsprint for eastern United States markets that were
11 usually supplied by northern Ontario. Those brand new
12 mills were highly efficient and they had a handy source
13 of fiber near their mills in the south and labour costs
14 were very low in the United States south.

15 The companies in northern Ontario had to
16 find a way of matching the prices of the southern
17 producers. So they began to look right through their
18 whole system and try to figure out how they could
19 reduce costs along the line. At the same time they
20 were compelled to abandon their labour-intensive
21 methods because the cost of labour was rising rapidly.

22 After World War II there were far fewer
23 men who were willing to work in isolated conditions in
24 the bush at low rates of pay, take on such dangerous
25 jobs simply for a winter season. During the war

1 various people had gained new experiences and they
2 looked elsewhere for jobs. The companies tried to
3 bring in immigrants to take their place, but most of
4 the immigrants soon abandoned these remote jobs, too.

5 This gave the men some leverage at last
6 and the union became effective in the 1940s and
7 achieved collective bargaining status with most of the
8 large pulp and paper companies beginning in 1946.

9 That also had the effect, of course, of
10 driving up wages and costs because the company -- the
11 men insisted on getting better camp conditions and
12 higher wages. So the companies because of these
13 product market pressures, because of their high cost of
14 labour began to turn to new kinds of technologies.

15 Q. What was the response of industry to
16 these challenges of increased competition and rising
17 costs?

18 A. Well, the companies introduced a
19 series of technological and other related changes to
20 their logging systems, but all along the line they kept
21 trying to figure out what will cost us least to deliver
22 our pulpwood to the mills.

23 One of the things they found was that the
24 big new trucks of the late 1940s and 50s were powerful
25 enough and effective enough that they could be used to

1 haul wood along those snow roads. Once more, they
2 could travel much longer distances directly to the
3 mill. So many companies began to eliminate their river
4 driving operations and take the wood from the skidways
5 right through directly to the mill by means of trucks.

6 That meant changes for the camps because
7 now it was possible to transport men much longer
8 distances. Roads that were built to transport wood
9 could also be used to bring men in on a daily basis or
10 on a weekly basis. This is an Abitibi camp in the
11 1960s that was used mainly for during the week.

12 Men would come in quite long distances,
13 perhaps 200 miles, to work in this camp, stay here
14 under considerably better conditions than in the old
15 days and then be bused back home. They could also be
16 bused longer distances to the logging sites each day.
17 The camps could be used for much longer and it was most
18 cost effective to make certain improvements.

19 Here we see a modern camp cookery. Very
20 different from the early one.

21 Here we see the kind of leisure
22 activities that began to be introduced in the camps in
23 the 1960s. We have got men in their single bunks.
24 This was one of the first big victories of the union in
25 the bush, was to get rid of the old double-decker bunks

1 and introduce single bunks and eventually small rooms
2 like this with a television with some comfort.

3 The techniques in the bush began to
4 change soon after the first world war, partly because
5 the companies were absolutely forced to try to find
6 alternatives.

7 One of the first changes came in the
8 felling end of things and instead of the hand saws, now
9 gasoline powered chainsaws were used. Advances in
10 technology during World War II had made it possible to
11 manufacture these chainsaws at a much lighter weight.
12 One man could operate a chainsaw by the late 1940s and
13 the men who were on piece rates eagerly purchased these
14 chainsaws because it meant that they could work without
15 quite so much effort and they could increase the amount
16 of wood they cut and, hence, their earnings.

17 Eventually the saws became highly
18 efficient. Protective gear was introduced, however,
19 because of course there are all kinds of dangers. The
20 hidden danger of vibration, white-finger disease as it
21 is called, danger to hearing and then the horrible cuts
22 that come from operating a chainsaw.

23 In some operations today we still use
24 these chainsaws, of course. They are still around.
25 These are up-to-date forest workers shown here.

1 Also in the skidding end of things there
2 were technological changes. The horses were replaced
3 by new pieces of equipment. Here you see a tractor
4 originally designed for construction purposes being
5 used to skid logs through the bush from the stump to
6 the skidways.

7 Later on the industry innovated, worked
8 on equipment that was particularly designed for
9 northern Ontario conditions. This was an early attempt
10 at a modern skidder. It had conventional steering and
11 turned out to be very awkward to operate in the bush
12 because it had such a large turning arch. It also gave
13 the operators a terribly bumpy ride and there were
14 horrible back problems involved with operating one of
15 these blue-ox skidders as they were called.

16 By the 1960s a number of companies,
17 manufacturers were offering logging equipment such as
18 the articulated skidder shown here. This large
19 powerful machine had big tires and could skid much
20 larger loads of logs than previously. It could operate
21 in summer and winter, it could drive around standing
22 timber; a highly flexible kind of machine that was
23 quite effective in producing pulpwood more cheaply.

24 One of the costs, of course, was that
25 this kind of equipment did more damage to the forest

1 floor than a horse had done. The loads also being
2 dragged behind it might do more damage because they
3 were larger and because they were being dragged over
4 the ground in summer sometimes as well as in winter.

5 Loading devices were also mechanized,
6 powerful hydraulic equipment brought in to load up the
7 trucks.

8 All along the line the companies had
9 tried to devise ways to reduce their costs that would
10 substitute machines for men and they had developed a
11 whole series of pieces of equipment. One of the
12 machines that became most widely used in the 1970s and
13 80s was a feller buncher such as this one. It has a
14 giant felling head hydraulically controlled by a man
15 operating it from the cab, it could grasp the trees,
16 sever the tree with giant shears or with a circular
17 blade and pile the trees beside the equipment and cut,
18 of course, far more trees per day per operator.

19 A close up of the shears.

20 Q. Were there any concerns about the
21 well-being of forest workers or of the environment in
22 the design of this equipment?

23 A. Well, I've read hundreds of reports
24 by the engineers, by the forest company personnel who
25 were responsible for logging methods and it's very

1 clear from these right from an early time, down into
2 the 1970s at least, that the companies gave almost no
3 consideration to the environment when they were trying
4 to develop equipment. They were interested in
5 increasing productivity. That was the objective.
6 Reducing costs in the short term was the goal.

7 They were more concerned, for instance,
8 about the damage that the forest floor, stumps or rocks
9 on the forest floor might do to the equipment than they
10 were concerned about what the equipment might do to the
11 forest enviroment.

12 There was also virtually no consideration
13 given to the health and safety of the workers, at least
14 down into the 1970s. This was completely ignored. The
15 equipment was, again, evaluated in terms of
16 productivity levels and it wasn't until the companies
17 discovered that men had to operate equipment more
18 slowly and production was reduced because the equipment
19 was so uncomfortable to operate.

20 The men were jolted about so much because
21 there was no suspension system incorporated into the
22 machine. The controls and seats and so forth were
23 placed in such a way that the men couldn't comfortably
24 see what they were doing so they had to stand up and
25 lean over in awkward directions and this put back

1 strain on them and so forth.

2 These kinds of considerations were not
3 taken into account by the companies for a very, very
4 long period of time until they began to recognize their
5 costs, their financial costs, and then some attention
6 has been paid to this kind of thing in more recent
7 years.

8 Similarly with the environment. In
9 recent years there has been a greater interest in the
10 part of the designers and the implications for the
11 environment and very often in reports you will see that
12 an additional reason for considering the adoption of
13 this particular piece of equipment is that it doesn't
14 do much environmental damage or environmental damage is
15 reduced, but still I think you will find in virtually
16 every report the emphasis is on how much can we
17 accomplish in immediate financial terms by using this
18 equipment. That's the priority.

19 Q. Moving now to your third conclusion
20 that the crisis in the forest industry will deepen if
21 these historical patterns continue, would you please
22 tell the Board what response there was from the
23 government regarding the greater public concern for the
24 environment?

25 A. Well, the government with its

1 responsibilities for Crown land forests has shown
2 increasing interest in the implications and impacts of
3 forest exploitation on the environment.

4 There have been a long series of studies
5 of various impacts beginning right back with the
6 Kennedy Commission. I'm sure you've heard quite a bit
7 about the Kennedy Commission going right down to the
8 Fahlgren Report of recent years which have certainly
9 studied problems, alerted the public to some of the
10 problems.

11 Quite a bit is now known about the
12 implications of the use of this equipment, though we
13 need to know much more. Even the engineers are quick
14 to assert, I think, that many more studies are required
15 until we know exactly what we're doing out there.

16 Q. Professor Radforth, in your opinion
17 is the crisis in the forest industry irreversible?

18 A. Well, I don't think it's irreversible
19 at all, although it would certainly take some definite
20 action now to reverse long standing patterns. Certain
21 relationships have been there for a very long time.

22 The priority of finding least cost
23 methods and not considering much else or tacking on
24 additional concerns, these priorities have been there
25 for a long time and something has to be done to get the

1 companies to reconsider their priorities and to make
2 environmental issues and social issues absolutely
3 central.

4 The danger is that if we continue in the
5 way we have been going using the old formula we're
6 going to run short of trees very soon and the forest
7 communities dependent upon the forest industry and the
8 forest will be in trouble and the environment will be
9 that much worse.

10 There are certain signs that not
11 everything is getting better in recent years. In order
12 to continue to remain competitive the companies have
13 tried to make an old formula work. They've tried to
14 use low value added production, they've tried to supply
15 their mills cheaply with fiber, massive amounts of
16 fiber, and in fact in recent years the pressure has
17 been on to increase production and the pressure on the
18 resource has grown apace.

19 We need to rethink the whole idea of low
20 value added production if we are going to reverse
21 trends and improve things. At the same time, recent
22 trends in terms of contracting out logging also are not
23 encouraging at all.

24 One of the ways in recent years that
25 companies have tried to continue to find ways of

1 reducing costs is to contract out the work to itinerant
2 loggers and many of these loggers do not have any kind
3 of attachment or concern for the forest in their
4 particular area. Their job is to log as quickly as
5 they can, make as much money as they possibly can on
6 their short contract.

7 This puts get competitive pressures on
8 the local people who make more stable jobs, it puts
9 pressures in the resource. The logger on contract
10 doesn't take the time to consider what he is doing
11 carefully in terms of environmental conditions. He has
12 simply got to keep his productivity level very high in
13 order to ensure that he can make payments on his
14 equipment, that he can make his little business a
15 success.

16 It seems to me we have to do something
17 about this kind of payment system, this kind of
18 contracting out system if we are going to see reversal
19 of current patterns.

20 So overall then I think my main point is
21 that this is an industry that's had long standing
22 patterns. We've had a lot of studies, but not seen a
23 lot of action. We've seen a priority given to least
24 cost methods, short-term financial goals, provincial
25 governments have been too often concerned about the

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1 next election rather than looking further ahead than
2 that. We really need to consider long-term social
3 costs and environmental costs and take these things
4 into account if we're going to avoid very, very serious
5 problems in the not very distant future.

6 Q. Thank you. Now we will turn to
7 Professor Dunk. I would like to introduce Professor
8 Tom Dunk.

9 You are a witness for the Canadian
10 Paperworkers Union?

11 PROFESSOR DUNK: A. That's correct.

12 Q. And you prepared witness statement
13 No. 2 which was filed with the Board as Exhibit No.
14 2227; is that correct?

15 A. Yes, that's correct.

16 Q. And as well your resume has been
17 filed with the Board as Exhibit 2228.

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. I would like to lead you through your
20 resume and highlight aspects of it. Presently you are
21 an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Lakehead
22 University?

23 A. Yes, that's correct. I hold a joint
24 position in the Department of Sociology and the Centre
25 of Northern Studies at Lakehead University.

1 Q. You work as a cultural
2 anthropologist?

3 A. That's my background, yes.

4 Q. Would you please describe your
5 academic training and work that you have undergone to
6 qualify yourself as a cultural anthropologist?

7 A. Well, I have of course have the
8 normal academic degrees in anthropology. I have
9 been -- beginning in 1976 when I began university
10 majoring in anthropology.

11 I have been engaged in research since
12 1984. That research was specifically focused on
13 working class culture in northern Ontario, northwestern
14 Ontario, and I've been working on that research really
15 continuously since that time.

16 Q. And your research stems from personal
17 interests and experiences as well; is that correct?

18 A. Well, of course it stems from
19 academic issues related to questions of class and
20 conscienceness and so on, but it also grew out of the
21 fact that, yes, I grew up in northern Ontario. I was
22 born in Thunder Bay, I grew up in Thunder Bay.

23 Between high school, grade 12, and going
24 back to university as a mature student I spent three
25 years working as an industrial laborer. Eight months

1 of that time was spent in the wood room at what was
2 then the Great Lakes Forest Products company mill. It
3 is now the Canadian Pacific Forest Products mill in
4 Thunder Bay and the kinds of questions I wanted to
5 address in my Ph.D research grew out of my personal
6 interest and history, as well as out of the academic
7 issues related to question of class of culture and so
8 on.

9 Q. Recently you have written and
10 published a book called It's A Working Man's Town, Male
11 Working Class Culture in Northwestern Ontario; is that
12 correct?

13 A. Yes, that's correct.

14 Q. And you lecture and write on the
15 subject of working class culture in terms of being a
16 cultural anthropologist?

17 A. Yes, that's correct.

18 Q. Your current area of research is
19 what?

20 A. Well, I'm continuing my interest in
21 working class culture, but since 1990 the specific
22 interest has focused on the question of the
23 relationship between the working class, I guess, the
24 labour movement and the rise of the environmental
25 movement and the kinds of conflicts and points of

1 cohesion between these two different social movements,
2 if you want.

3 Q. And that area of research has caused
4 you to travel to Sweden, is that true?

5 A. Well, part of my study was to have a
6 comparative perspective on this and Sweden, of course,
7 is a country where the labour movement and working
8 class has had more influence over the development of
9 government policy and stuff than is sort of typical of
10 Canada.

11 Also, of course, northern Sweden has an
12 environment very similar to northern Ontario. It was
13 reputed often or very frequently to have a stronger
14 tradition of concern for the environment, a stronger
15 awareness of the environment.

16 So I was interested in getting a
17 perspective from the Swedish side of what the sort of
18 working class perspective on environment and
19 environmental issues was in a country with these
20 traditions and comparing that to the situation in
21 northern Ontario.

22 So in 1990 I spent 10 weeks in Sweden, in
23 the summer of 1990, visiting academics really at
24 various universities in Sweden who have themselves been
25 studying questions of the image of the environment and

1 Swedish culture, working class culture, the history of
2 the Swedish labour movement and so on.

3 Q. Would you please define for the Board
4 what a cultural anthropologist is and describe your
5 exact area of expertise?

6 A. Anthropology, literally of course, is
7 usually translated to mean the study of man. Usually
8 these days we like to say it is the study of humanity
9 or human beings or something slightly less sexist, but
10 a cultural anthropologist tends to focus primarily on
11 belief systems, on questions of art, religion,
12 language, some people like to use the word
13 conscienceness.

14 One of the principle goals of cultural
15 anthropology is a distinct subfield of the discipline
16 of anthropology, is to describe and analyse what we
17 refer to as the subjective understandings of people and
18 the goal is to really try and present how the actors or
19 the subjects that you are researching think and feel
20 and express themselves and what the meaning of that is
21 in their own terms.

22 Q. And your specific area of specialty
23 is?

24 A. Well, my specific area of specialty
25 is of course looking at working class culture and there

1 the interest, again, is sort of the subjective
2 experience that the subjective experience that working
3 class people have had and how that relates to other
4 issues such as religion, ethnicity, gender, all kinds
5 of things.

6 In my book what I deal with primarily is
7 the inter-relationship, if you want, or the way in
8 which working class experience in northern Ontario
9 relates to the popular attitudes about race, ethnicity
10 and gender and leisure and that kind of thing.

11 Q. You have limited -- limited is not
12 exactly the correct word, but your specific area of
13 research --

14 MADAM CHAIR: Excuse me, Ms. Omatsu,
15 could you speak up just a little bit.

16 MS. OMATSU: Sorry about this.

17 MADAM CHAIR: Thank you.

18 MS. OMATSU: Q. Your specific area of
19 research is northwestern Ontario; is that correct?

20 PROFESSOR DUNK: A. That is where I
21 have done my own original research, yes, in
22 northwestern Ontario.

23 Q. And you specialize in the culture of
24 forest workers?

25 A. Well, I am now focusing on forest

1 workers. Of course, forest workers are one element of
2 the local working class, if you want. You can divide
3 it up in a number of ways, but that is who I am
4 concentrating on in my current research, yes.

5 MS. OMATSU: Madam Chair, I would like to
6 have Professor Dunk qualified as an expert cultural
7 anthropologist on the working class culture of forest
8 workers.

9 MADAM CHAIR: Any objections?

10 (no response)

11 Professor Dunk will be so qualified.

12 MS. OMATSU: Q. We will now move on to
13 the study that you have prepared which is witness
14 Statement No. 2.

15 For the assistance of the Board we
16 propose to first have a description of the study, an
17 analysis of the findings -- an outline of the findings
18 and then an analysis of the results.

19 First, I wonder, Professor Dunk, if you
20 could go on to the description of the study. Could you
21 please describe the origins of your research and its
22 evolution into witness statement No. 2.

23 PROFESSOR DUNK: A. Well, as I said a
24 moment ago, my research, part of which is culminated in
25 the book, was looking at the connection between working

1 class experience and popular attitudes about race,
2 ethnicity, gender and leisure.

3 Sort of the logical continuation of that
4 was to sort of extend that to look at how this working
5 class experience related to people's attitudes about
6 the environment and, in particular, how that would
7 influence their relationship or their attitudes towards
8 a contemporary environmental movement.

9 Of course, in an area like northwestern
10 Ontario there is a lot of discussion and concern about
11 environmental issues obviously given the importance of
12 the forest and the forest industry and so on.

13 So I began my research really with the
14 idea of what I wanted to do was focus on forest workers
15 and find out what they really thought about these
16 issues.

17 One of the reasons for that is that if
18 you look at popular presentations of these issues you
19 often see them -- you see a situation where there is a
20 deep conflict between the opinions of local workers,
21 especially forestry workers, forest workers, and
22 environmental groups or groups with interest in the
23 natural environment and the forest which aren't
24 directly related to employment.

25 Of course, if you think about the

1 Temagami issue, you just have to follow the newspaper
2 coverage of that even, and you see that frequently this
3 is what you get; forest workers in opposition to
4 environmentalists.

5 You can look at the situation in the
6 northwest United States around the spotted owl and
7 there, again, there are many examples in the popular
8 media of how workers are represented as being at odds
9 with the environmental movement.

10 What I did was I had gone through a
11 literature review of course and I've gone through the
12 popular media, but in terms of my own research, my
13 original research with these subjects I used standard
14 anthropological techniques of identifying key
15 informants, at least what we call key informants, who
16 are, in this case, people who are experienced forest
17 workers and I prepared what we call an open-ended
18 interview schedule which is a schedule of questions
19 which you use as a guide in your interview.

20 You ask every person that you interview
21 the same set of questions in the same manner, but you
22 don't limit them to those sorts of -- to answering
23 those questions. You have dialogue with them.

24 One of the ways we describe that is we
25 describe the open-ended interview schedule as a kind of

1 skeleton, if you want, so that everybody in fact is
2 asked these questions and your conversation has that
3 same basic form, but you allow the interviewee to
4 question you, to develop their own ideas about how they
5 would answer the questions and how the questions might
6 be asked and so on.

7 I did 45 interviews with experienced
8 forest workers in northwestern Ontario. This has
9 generated about 90 hours of tape. The interviews
10 average about an hour and 40 minutes, although they
11 range from just under an hour to more than three hours
12 of course depending on the individual. So I have ended
13 up with a huge pile of tape and so far about 11- or
14 1,200 pages of transcript that I get to go through in
15 the next year or so.

16 Q. What standard controls did you put
17 into place to ensure impartiality of your findings?

18 A. Well, I identified these 45
19 individuals in two ways. One is the standard
20 anthropological technique of using a social network to
21 identify individuals that the peer group, their own
22 peer group, considered to be in this case, you know,
23 normal individuals.

24 So what they mean by that is that -- or
25 what I mean by that in this case is that I used my

1 connections from my former research, even my family
2 connections, people who work as forest workers that I'm
3 related to, to help me make contact with individuals
4 who I could interview about this who were experienced
5 forest workers, but who aren't known to be activists, if
6 you were, weren't known to be heavily involved in
7 environmental issues or political issues of any kind.
8 So they were considered by their peers to be, in their
9 own local dialects, regular Joes, as they say.

10 Twenty of these individuals were chosen
11 randomly from a list of union members that I was given
12 by the Canadian Paperworkers Union. That list was a
13 list of about 110 or -12 individuals and I randomly
14 chose names from that list and interviewed 20 of those
15 as well.

16 Again, on top of choosing them randomly,
17 I eliminated the local union executive and a couple of
18 local individuals who are known to be heavily involved
19 and interested in environmental issues for one reason
20 or another.

21 Q. Would you please describe for the
22 Board the sociological characteristics of the people
23 you interviewed?

24 A. Well, the particular subjects that I
25 interviewed comprised a group of experienced forest

1 workers. They came -- 20 of them were members of the
2 Canadian Paperworkers Union, 15 of them belonged to the
3 International Woodworkers of America, 10 of them were
4 individual owner/operators.

5 Their average age I think was 43 years
6 old -- 43 years of age. 29 them worked as cutters. I
7 think one of them had been a cutter. He had suffered a
8 back injury. Actually, he suffered a back injury
9 because of some faulty equipment which had not been
10 fully developed - something Ian was talking about a few
11 minutes ago - so he was on disability at the time I
12 interviewed him.

13 The other ones were involved in the road
14 maintenance and repair of forestry equipment and in
15 building, constructing and also, you might say, taking
16 apart forest roads as well.

17 On average they had 20 years' experience
18 working in the forest. 25 of them were second
19 generation forest workers. Their parents or their
20 fathers had been forest workers. I might add, out of
21 these 45 one of the people I interviewed was a woman
22 who had worked as a forest worker, a cutter for 17
23 years at that time of the interview.

24 On average they had less than a grade 12
25 education. None of them had gone beyond grade 12.

1 They lived in five different communities in northern
2 Ontario. So what I have ultimately is a small group of
3 people, but a group of people that are representative
4 of experienced forest workers with different kinds of,
5 relationship to unions, to corporations and come from
6 slightly different communities as well.

7 Q. I would like to move now to the
8 findings that you made. I wonder if you could please
9 describe to the Board the importance of the environment
10 in the forest workers culture?

11 A. Well, I guess one of the first things
12 that's important to recognize is that forest workers
13 tend to come from rural areas, they tend to come from
14 small communities with a long tradition in history of
15 reliance on natural resource industries.

16 This is true not just of these 45
17 individuals. If you look at Patricia Marshak's major
18 study of the B.C. -- of the forest industry in B.C.
19 this is what she found as well.

20 These are people who have a history of
21 living in these regions, their families have a history
22 of living in these regions and so they are very
23 committed to a rural lifestyle. Again, I could refer
24 you to other studies as well that have pointed this
25 out. One of the characteristics of contemporary forest

1 workers is that they are rural people, small community
2 people for the most part. That's an aspect of their
3 life which they enjoy and they want to maintain.

4 Q. Would you please describe their
5 attitudes towards the environment?

6 A. Part of what this means is, of
7 course, that the environment is important to them for
8 much more than just their jobs.

9 As one of the individuals - he was
10 included as one of the case studies in the report - put
11 it, if you are not interested in the environment, if
12 you are not interested in fishing and hunting and
13 trapping and skiidooing and so on you have no business
14 being in these little communities because that is in
15 fact what there is to do.

16 What you find by all the people I talked
17 to is that they have an intense interest in these
18 things. Hunting, trapping, fishing, skiidooing,
19 boating, sightseeing, berry picking, cutting firewood,
20 this is in fact what they do with their life. That is
21 their leisure activity.

22 What was of interest to me is that many
23 of them actually describe that as being their culture
24 or their lifestyle or their tradition and they would
25 refer to, you know, the fact that this is something

1 their parents have always done. Even such things as
2 the use of firewood to heat their homes was listed as
3 something that is a tradition in their family. Their
4 grandfathers had done that and their fathers had done
5 that and they were doing it.

6 So the environment then is in that sense
7 much more than just place that they go and work. They
8 just don't go out into the bush to cut down trees.
9 They do a lot of other things out there. It is imbued
10 with the memories they have.

11 In my interviews they were telling
12 stories about the place in the bush where they taught
13 their son to shoot a gun for the first time, the place
14 on the lake where their daughter caught her first
15 first. So the environment is kind alive for them. It
16 is full of their personalities, it's full of their
17 culture in that sense. So it's very, very important to
18 them in those ways.

19 They do, of course -- given that fact, it
20 is not surprising to discover that they also mention or
21 discuss at great length sometimes a variety of concerns
22 that they have about the current state of the
23 environment.

24 The things that were most important or
25 most frequently discussed by the people I interviewed

1 were things like the use of herbicides or chemical
2 spraying in terms of forest regeneration, and what they
3 were concerned about was what they perceived to be the
4 effect of the chemical spray.

5 They did not believe -- many of them told
6 me that they had been told that the effect of chemical
7 spray would be to retard the growth of broad-leaf trees
8 for two years to allow the young conifers a chance to
9 grow up, but of the 25 of the individuals I spoke to
10 brought this issue up and many of them referred to
11 things like the fact that they could take me to areas
12 that had been sprayed five or six or seven years
13 earlier where in fact the broad-leaf trees had never
14 returned at all or they could take me to areas that
15 they claimed used to be good moose hunting territories
16 until it was sprayed and now the broad-leaf trees had
17 never come back and the moose had never come back.

18 They actually used words like -- one
19 person even described a sprayed area five years -- I
20 think it was five years after it had been sprayed as
21 looking like a place that an atomic bottom had landed
22 on. So it is a concern to them.

23 They also were concerned about the
24 effects that the spraying -- the long-term effects that
25 the spraying would have in terms of the kinds of toxins

1 that might be in the berries because picking wild
2 berries, of course, is a major source of entertainment
3 for people up there. They eat a lot of that kind of
4 thing. They are concerned about that.

5 Some of them are concerned about the
6 immediate effects of spraying on their own health in
7 terms of what it might do to their lungs and that kind
8 of thing. So the use of herbicides is one major
9 concern expressed by many of these individuals.

10 Another serious concern that many of them
11 had was with the way in which wood was wasted or what
12 they perceived to be wastage. They perceive that
13 there is a lot of wood in a clearcut area that isn't
14 used. Of course, there's the hardwoods that are left
15 behind, the poplar and the birch, but they also talked
16 about the amount of tree top that isn't utilized and
17 might be even if it was just utilized for local
18 firewood.

19 They also talked about what they perceive
20 to be a not wise usage of wood that had been blown down
21 or wood that had died of pests which they didn't
22 think -- in some cases at least they didn't think the
23 corporations had been made to make enough use of that
24 kind of timber.

25 Many of them also surprising, given that

1 they were involved in chemical harvesting, expressed
2 concerns about the techniques involved in mechanical
3 harvesting, about the effects of the equipment they use
4 and the techniques they use on the environment. They
5 were worried about the volume of wood they perceived
6 was being cut.

7 Again, these worries are expressed in
8 very personal ways. I mean, for them, the amount of
9 timber that's being cut, it is clear to them from what
10 they do in the course of the day, but they will
11 describe things to you like the fact that it used to
12 take them ten minutes to get to the cutting site and
13 now they have to drive for an hour and a half and that
14 has taken place in just a 5-year or 10-year period
15 sometimes. So there's a number of concerns they have
16 around that.

17 They also, of course, are concerned about
18 such things as what happens at night when you are
19 working a 24-hour shift and you can't see where you are
20 going in the dark with your machine.

21 One fellow described his concerns about
22 running over -- something that he had done. He had run
23 over a bear den at two o'clock in the morning and
24 scared himself and who knows what damage he might have
25 done to the bear den.

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1 They are also concerned about things like
2 soil erosion and dessication that results from
3 clearcutting and from the use of the equipment that
4 they have to use.

5 So they have a variety of concerns about
6 environmental issues for sure.

7 Q. Would you please describe --

8 MADAM CHAIR: Excuse me, Ms. Omatsu. We
9 are going to -- we usually break for lunch at 12. If
10 there is a convenient place for Professor Dunk, we
11 don't want to interrupt any new area that he is moving
12 in, so you can decide where you would like to interrupt
13 his examination-in-chief.

14 MS. OMATSU: Perhaps we could break here.

15 MADAM CHAIR: Is this better than
16 beginning another area?

17 PROFESSOR DUNK: I think so, yes.

18 MS. OMATSU: Yes, we just started into
19 his findings.

20 MADAM CHAIR: All right. Shall we do
21 that then and come back at 1:30.

22 PROFESSOR DUNK: Sure. That would be
23 fine.

24 MADAM CHAIR: All right. Thank you very
25 much.

1 ---Luncheon recess at 12:00.

2 ---On resuming at 1:35 p.m.

3 MADAM CHAIR: Please be seated.

4 MS. OMATSU: Good afternoon. We will
5 continue with the evidence of Professor Dunk.

6 Q. You were outlining for the Board your
7 findings regarding workers' attitudes towards certain
8 questions.

9 You first outlined the importance of the
10 environment for forest workers in terms of their
11 lifestyle and culture and then that they were seriously
12 concerned about the environment.

13 Would you please outline for the Board
14 the attitude of forest workers as regards the role of
15 government to the environment?

16 PROFESSOR DUNK: A. Before lunch, as I
17 was saying, as you have just said, I was describing the
18 fact that given the backgrounds of the workers and the
19 nature of their work of course they have many concerns
20 about the environment. The environment is an important
21 part of their culture.

22 Given that fact it is, of course, not
23 surprising that the government which controls --
24 insofar as 90 per cent of the land in northern Ontario
25 is Crown land and the Ministry of Natural Resources is

1 responsible for that, it is not surprising that the
2 government and the Ministry of Natural Resources in
3 particular are the subject of a lot of discussion and a
4 lot of fairly strong opinions which are expressed
5 about the Ministry of Natural Resources.

6 In my interviews there was a strong sense
7 communicated that the workers feel that the MNR is very
8 rigid in its approach to local situations, that there
9 is a great deal -- I should word it like this, that the
10 the Ministry is very unresponsive to local concerns.
11 It doesn't have flexibility. It is unable to take
12 account of the practical realities of any local
13 situation.

14 There is a very strong sense that local
15 people's knowledge, local workers' knowledge which they
16 feel is extensive because of their practical work and
17 life experience living in the region, they feel that
18 that local knowledge is not respected and not taken
19 into consideration by the Ministry when they're making
20 plans or when they are implementing regulations.

21 There is a sense as well that the
22 Ministry to some extent has to answer to other interest
23 groups, in particular industry. Interestingly, it was
24 the tourist industry in particular that the workers
25 felt had some sort of influence over the government, if

1 you want, which was reflected in MNR regulations which
2 restricted their own use of the environment and
3 interfered with that they perceived to be an
4 intelligent and fair use of the forest.

5 There is a very strong feeling that
6 whatever efforts the Ministry of Natural Resources
7 makes to include public opinion in their plans and so
8 on are really sort of public relations ploys for the
9 most part.

10 Many stories are told about open houses
11 and, you know, negative experiences that have been
12 derived from them just in the sense that they don't
13 seem to change anything. You can go and express your
14 opinion and it doesn't matter anyway and there is such
15 a level of -- sort of a feeling of alienation I guess
16 that many people don't even think it's worthwhile
17 making the effort anymore.

18 On top of that, of course, the whole
19 forum of public consultations is one that is antithetical
20 really to workers' culture itself. The formality of
21 the settings very frequently, the role played by
22 experts and people with, you know, formal education and
23 so on tends of course to put people who don't have
24 those sorts of things - we call that kind of cultural
25 capital, is the term a sociologist and anthropologist

1 use - they feel very uncomfortable in those settings
2 and of course they tend to avoid them if possible.

3 So if I can sum it up, there is just a
4 sense that the Ministry of Natural Resources is not
5 flexible enough, that it's not responsive to local
6 concerns and that it is not -- it may not be the
7 intentions of any individuals, but all in all local
8 concerns really don't have any influence over the
9 decisions that are made.

10 So there is a strong sense of anger .
11 really. I wouldn't want to use the exact words people
12 used to describe the Ministry, but it's a very strong
13 feeling.

14 Q. Would you please describe the
15 attitudes that they expressed to you regarding the role
16 of industry and the environment?

17 A. Well, talking about industry, it's an
18 interesting fact that many of the workers I talked to,
19 more than half of them, described the company they
20 worked for or the practices of the company they work
21 for with regard to the environment has been not bad or
22 quite good. In some cases they thought the company
23 they worked for was doing the best job in the country,
24 I think were the words they used.

25 There is also a sense that things are

1 improving. One of the things that many of the workers
2 talked about was a recent decision by one of the forest
3 companies to recycle hydraulic fluid and oil and to
4 enforce the idea that this had to be done, that you
5 couldn't bury this waste material out in the bush
6 anymore. So there is a sense that things are improving
7 for sure.

8 It's kind of interesting, though, that
9 even that example, the recycling of hydraulic fluid, in
10 the minds of many of the workers who spoke about that
11 was also a kind of example of the impracticalness of a
12 lot of regulations because in that particular case the
13 fuel -- or the hydraulic fluid I should say was
14 collected out in the bush, brought back to the
15 community where it is stored, but it just sits in that
16 community because there are no recycling facilities out
17 there and no way of transporting at this point or it is
18 not economic to transport it.

19 So now you have instead of this stuff
20 buried in pits out of the forest you have a big tank,
21 one of them said, just waiting to burst of course.

22 So there is a sense that, you know, if
23 they had been practical about this you would have to
24 find some other solutions or build some of these local
25 level questions into the overall plan. It's great to

1 do to this, but what in fact in practice do you do with
2 this stuff.

3 There is a sense I think that industry is
4 primarily interested in taking out wood fiber. That
5 is, of course, their main concern. There is a sense,
6 as one of them described it, that the industry has
7 blinders on, kind of like a horse with blinders on, and
8 that it sees its job as producing trees and producing
9 fiber for the industry and nothing more than that.

10 So the industry workers' attitude is
11 rather ambiguous in a way. In a sense it is not as bad
12 as it might be, things are improving, and yet there is
13 also a sense that there is still this kind of narrow
14 minded approach to the issues.

15 Q. Did you notice a difference in
16 perception between unionized and non-unionized workers
17 towards unions and the environment?

18 A. Yes. Not surprisingly the
19 non-unionized workers talked about what they perceive
20 to be the lack of flexibility in union regulations and
21 thought that that interfered to some extent with wiser
22 use of the forest resources.

23 On the other hand, of course, the
24 unionized workers all described the use of contract
25 labour or independent itinerant contract workers as

1 been detrimental to the environment and they are the
2 things that they noted, were the lack of commitment of
3 itinerant workers to local communities, the fact that
4 they don't live in those communities, they don't spend
5 much of their money in those communities. When they
6 come into the cutting site they tend to bring their
7 supplies with them from outside so they are not coming
8 into town and spending money.

9 But also the fact that a lot of these
10 people are perceived at least to move into a cutting
11 site, live in a temporary habitation on that cutting
12 site and when they are finished they simply leave and
13 leave behind piles of garbage and the hydraulic fluid
14 and the personal garage that goes along with it and all
15 of that of course rankles the union workers.

16 There was also the sense that many of
17 these people, that the unionized workers described,
18 that none-union labour operates under incredible
19 economic pressures. If they don't keep reducing the
20 money doesn't keep flowing in and the down timber on
21 their machines and that kind of stuff is very expensive
22 and costly.

23 So they simply don't have the time. Even
24 if they have the best of intentions in the world, these
25 independent loggers are really forced to work to the

1 maximum and can't take the time to be concerned about
2 environmental issues, about cleaning up after them,
3 about the effect that they might be having on
4 environmental issues or on what their contribution to
5 the local communities is.

6 Of course, one of the other elements of
7 this is that the workers are all very concerned about
8 the amount of economic value and economic benefit that
9 returns to local communities from the kind of work they
10 do. There is a very strong sense that given the value
11 of the resource that is taken out of the communities
12 and so on that not enough is done to enhance the
13 economic base of these communities and build a more
14 diversified local economy and they feel that the use of
15 itinerant workers isn't helping that situation.

16 Q. Lastly, can you please tell the Board
17 what their attitude was towards environmentalists and
18 environmentalism?

19 A. Yes. As I said before lunch when I
20 was just beginning, one of my main concerns or main
21 interest is the connection between or the
22 contradictions that exist between the labour movement
23 and working class culture and environmentalism.

24 Not surprisingly, the workers I talked to
25 tend to have a very negative attitude towards

1 environmentalists and the whole environment movement as
2 they perceive it even though, as I have said, they
3 themselves do have a range of environmental concerns.

4 Their description of environmentalists
5 inevitably was that these are people from outside the
6 area, usually from down south or from big cities or
7 urban areas, that they are people who were described
8 usually in terms it would -- or you could interpret it
9 at least as being from a different class position from
10 the workers. These are people who swear suits from
11 Toronto, these are people who have all been to
12 university and so on. There's ways of talking about
13 this.

14 They clearly indicated that they perceive
15 these people to be of a different social category than
16 they themselves are and there is a strong sense for
17 these reasons these people do not understand local
18 situations, that their environmental concerns tend to
19 be based on their urban experience rather than their
20 knowledge of the local area or local region and they
21 kind of project their concerns which originate in one
22 location onto other locations.

23 There is also a sense that they don't
24 know anything about local lifestyles and local cultures
25 and, again, as I was saying earlier, of course many of

1 the forest workers are avid fisherman, hunters, some of
2 them that I interviewed are involved in trapping as
3 well and of course they find themselves at great odds
4 with what they perceive to be the perspectives of the
5 environmental movement on these kinds of issues and, of
6 course, they want to insist that since they live in
7 those regions and they live in those communities that
8 they of course have even a greater interest in taking
9 good care of the forest and the forest resources than
10 anybody else does.

11 So there is a sense of distrust, if you
12 want, in the sense of a social distance that governs
13 the attitudes towards environmentalism.

14 I might add as well, of course, that the
15 whole attitude towards outsiders really governs the
16 interpretation of what the environmental movement is
17 about, what the role of government is in the region.

18 The sense of northern alienation has been
19 written about many times by many scholars and
20 journalists and everybody it seems who know anything
21 about the north. That sense of alienation of course,
22 if you want, overdetermines or provides an interpretive
23 framework within which so many other things get
24 understood. So this sense of alientation from the
25 south is reflected in their attitudes towards

1 environmentalism, their attitudes towards the
2 government as well.

3 There is a real sense that to some extent
4 they are liable to be the victims of these forces from
5 outside one more time. So, again, this attitude
6 towards environmentalism is a very interesting thing
7 and it reflects this sense of alienation from sources
8 of power, from sources of control over decision making.

9 Q. Was there sort of negative feelings
10 towards environmentalism as a result of a fear that
11 they would lose their jobs?

12 A. No. Interestingly enough, in that
13 area, northwestern Ontario where I did my interviewing,
14 the workers didn't perceive environmental regulation as
15 a threat to their employment.

16 Their experience has been that the job
17 losses or the lack of creation of new job opportunities
18 is really the product of technological change and
19 general economic conditions.

20 I might add that this is an area where
21 there haven't been increases in jobs in the forest
22 sector for a long, long time. I mean, when I was
23 interviewing these people there were men who had 11 and
24 12 years seniority who were being laid off at the time
25 that this was happening. So they have seen the effects

1 or they have seen their jobs disappearing and their
2 experience has been that environmental regulations have
3 had almost nothing do with that up there at least.

4 So, you know, I don't think that lies
5 behind their concern about environmentalism.

6 Q. Moving to the next part of your
7 presentation, your analysis, what do you believe are
8 the practical implications of your findings for this
9 hearing?

10 A. Well, when I was doing my research, I
11 was in the midst of doing my research when I was
12 approach by the the Canadian Paperworkers Union and
13 they asked me if I could prepare a report for them that
14 talked about the relationship between environmentalism
15 and the environmental movement and workers' attitudes
16 towards the environment and so on.

17 I think one of the important practical
18 implications of what I was doing is to try and achieve
19 a more complex nuance and understanding of what
20 workers' actual positions on environmental issues is
21 because, as I said earlier, there is a very widespread
22 sense of course that workers, especially forest
23 workers, are adamantly opposed to environmental
24 regulation, to environmentalism and movements and so
25 on.

1 I think if you actually have a chance to
2 go and do research with forest workers outside of that
3 kind of conflictual context, if you can go into their
4 environment and talk with them about these things at a
5 moment when everything isn't extremely hot, you will
6 find out that in fact it is a lot more complicated than
7 you will ever discover by looking at the way the
8 Temagami issue was covered or any of the other much
9 publicized conflicts regarding forest usage and that it
10 is just far too simplistic to represent forest workers
11 in that way.

12 So I think one of the things that needs
13 to be done and a lot more work needs to be done about
14 it is to clear up some misperception of what the
15 situation of local workers is and what the attitudes
16 and opinions and so on of local workers are about
17 environmental issues.

18 I think it is just far too simplistic to
19 paint them as people who are only there for the job,
20 who are only interested in economic features of
21 forestry and that's how their whole life is governed.
22 They are family members, they are community members,
23 they are involved in a wide range of activities and
24 they use their environment for much more than simply
25 their jobs. As I described, these are people who come

Dunk

dr ex (Omatsu)

1 from these regions and they are there for more than
2 just the work.

3 MR. MARTEL: How are you going to get
4 southerners though to take the time, since they haven't
5 for a hundred years, to find out what the concerns of
6 northerners are? That's all at levels including
7 governments. If you want to deal with the problem
8 realistically...

9 PROFESSOR DUNK: How do you do it?

10 MR. MARTEL: Yes.

11 PROFESSOR DUNK: One thing you can do of
12 course is more of what is happening right now, have
13 more opportunities not for people like myself to make
14 these kinds of statements, but many more opportunities
15 for the local people themselves, in this case the local
16 workers, to talk about these issues, to bend the ear,
17 if you want, of the people who make decisions in the
18 context where the workers themselves feel comfortable,
19 where they are not intimidated by the format, by the
20 language, by the kind of people that are there.

21 I don't want to -- well, not to put too
22 fine a point on it, but it would be very nice if it was
23 possible for even the members of the Board to go and
24 spend sometime hanging around some of these little
25 communities and being in context where people feel at

1 ease and they don't feel at the disadvantage of not
2 having the educational background and so on that others
3 do and they can really talk to you about these things.

4 MR. MARTEL: Well, some of the Board
5 members live in northern Ontario and have spent their
6 whole life in one-industry towns.

7 PROFESSOR DUNK: So you are probably then
8 not surprised by too much of what I have said.

9 MR. MARTEL: No. My question was really
10 real because, you see, I don't think it's a problem of
11 northerners as much as it is trying to get southerners
12 to deal in a realistic fashion with the people from the
13 north.

14 I mean, my colleague has been surprised,
15 I think I say quite fairly, and has come to appreciate
16 the concerns of northerners as someone who spent a
17 couple of years in the north at the difference in
18 attitude.

19 I mean, people here assume that they know
20 what's good for people in the north. That's just an
21 assumption made by -- particularly if you happen to
22 come from Toronto. I am not supposed to say that, I
23 guess, but Torontonians think the universe is here--

24 MADAM CHAIR: You say whatever you want
25 to, Mr. Martel.

1 MR. MARTEL: --as a whole. It seems to
2 me -- what I am asking you is how do you get the thing
3 to work the other way, to get people who are making
4 decisions regarding northern Ontario to come and
5 understand what's going in northern Ontario before they
6 start making up their mind?

7 PROFESSOR DUNK: Well, I guess, if I can
8 answer that question, what I think my honest
9 interpretation is what you need to do is structure the
10 system so that the decisions that are going to be made
11 about northern Ontario are going to be made by people
12 who live up there. In other words, so then you don't
13 have to worry about about --

14 MR. MARTEL: But then the perception
15 comes out - and I am not trying to pin you down - but
16 the perception comes out that they are against the
17 environment. People just assume.

18 At the 15 satellite hearings we heard
19 that from person after person after person, that
20 northerners have to make decisions which affect their
21 lives and these decisions must be made by northerners.
22 That is the only way they are going to get a fair
23 break. That's the feeling, the real gut feeling of
24 people in the north. While they feel that way, there
25 has got to be a way of convincing other people that

1 their concerns are more seriously looked at.

2 PROFESSOR DUNK: Yes. We are talking
3 about -- I don't know, how does one initiate radical
4 social change, if you want? That's a question maybe I
5 will have to leave to the politicians.

6 MR. MARTEL: Another study.

7 PROFESSOR DUNK: If I can just intervene.
8 One of the things that's interesting is of course that
9 one of the common themes of that northern alienation
10 that comes across, and it came across in my interviews
11 again, of course is that whenever this issue comes up,
12 academic, lawyers, professionals of various kinds get
13 hired to solve the problem. They all get richer at it,
14 if you want, and nothing changes much for the local
15 people.

16 There is so much cynicism about that. I
17 think that you really have to begin to structure the
18 system in such a way that real control does to some
19 extent rest with the local people so they really not
20 only -- so that they both do and perceive to have a
21 real influence over the decisions that are made,
22 otherwise you are inevitably going to have this sense
23 of alienation and frustration. I don't know if that
24 answers your question specifically, though.

25 One of the other -- and I was saying that

1 of course one of the misperceptions or this
2 misperception that local workers are anti-environmental
3 or anti-environmentalists needs to be corrected and
4 that requires I guess a lot of work. Public relations
5 work as much as anything else, I suppose.

6 The other thing is, of course, that
7 everything I have said and what we were just talking
8 about again leads to that notion that they need to have
9 real input into the process. That sense that they
10 don't have real input into the process is so pervasive.

11 Again, I'm not an expert on what MNR.
12 regulations are, so I can't say how that might be
13 changed, but the very sense of that feeling is so
14 pervasive is evidence that there is this perception at
15 the very least that they are not included in the
16 process, that their values and knowledge don't get
17 legitimated in the process and they they need to be.

18 I presume there, and again I am not in a
19 position to make specific recommendations, but some
20 form of local committees or local boards that workers
21 have real representation on where workers' knowledge,
22 workers' experience of the local area is going to be
23 expressed and taken seriously and be part of the
24 contribution when the decisions are made could go a
25 long way to clearing up that kind of problem.

1 Of course, one thing I want to underline
2 and it is something that the workers themselves are
3 very aware of is for them to have more input into the
4 decision-making process they have to really know what's
5 going on and they feel they have extensive experience
6 and extensive knowledge of the local situation, but
7 they are also aware that if people are going to be
8 involved in decision making that they have to be able
9 to take a broad perspective, they have to have the
10 background to understand ecological processes in a way
11 that goes beyond their knowledge that stems from their
12 practical experience.

13 It is out of that I think that one of the
14 implications of my study is that there is a great deal
15 of need for a lot of educational work on all levels.

16 Again, to get back to the issue of how do
17 you change southerners' perspectives. Well, there
18 needs to be a lot more education about what northerners
19 and local workers think about issues and what their
20 culture is all about and the logic of the way they
21 think and so on, but at the same time there needs to be
22 opportunities made available to these people in ways
23 that they are comfortable with that, that they don't
24 feel alienated from for them to develop the kind of
25 knowledge that would allow them to be more flexible and

1 more knowledgeable in their work and in their local use
2 of the forest. That's where I think there does need to
3 be a big initiative focused on training and education.

4 Of course, I have done a little bit of
5 research in Sweden and at the end of my witness
6 statement I talk about some of the educational
7 opportunities available there just as an example, not
8 of exactly what we should do in North America, but has
9 an example of a comparative situation where on all
10 parts, government, union, corporation, there has been
11 much more emphasis on providing workers with
12 educational opportunities which will allow them to be
13 more responsible with regard to the environment and
14 enable them to have a much broader perspective of what
15 the issue are and get beyond the stereotypes and the
16 kind of immediate gut reactions that you often have in
17 conflictual situations.

18 So I think again this need for further
19 training and education, I think it would help and I
20 think it would be well received because the workers are
21 interested in these issues, but it has to be done in a
22 way that is accessible to them both in a physical sense
23 but also in a cultural sense as well.

24 MS. OMATSU: Thank you, Professor Dunk.

25 That concludes our evidence-in-chief for

1 today, Madam Chair.

2 MADAM CHAIR: Thank you very much, Ms.
3 Omatsu, and witnesses.

4 Ms. Swenarchuk, you wanted to conduct
5 your cross-examination?

6 MS. SWENARCHUK: Yes, I have some very
7 brief questions for Mr. Makowski. I would ask you, Mr.
8 Makowski, and members of the Board to refer to the
9 Forestry Sectoral Task Force which was filed this
10 morning. I believe it does not have an exhibit number.

11 MADAM CHAIR: Yes, we will give it an
12 exhibit number. This will become Exhibit 2231. This
13 is the Forestry Sectoral Task Force Draft Report of the
14 Ontario Round Table on Environment and Economy and the
15 date of this report -- can you help the Board, Ms.
16 Swenarchuk.

17 MS. SWENARCHUK: It was last fall, Madam
18 Chair. I didn't realize that the draft report was
19 being filed. There is actually a final one since, but
20 I don't think it differs very much from the draft.

21 MADAM CHAIR: We could have Mr. Pascoe
22 obtain a copy of the final report. Do you have any
23 objection to that, Ms. Omatsu?

24 MS. OMATSU: No, Madam Chair.

25 MADAM CHAIR: Then we will have the final

1 report as Exhibit 2231 and the date on that would be
2 1992?

3 MS. SWENARCHUK: '92. Perhaps November
4 or December.

5 MADAM CHAIR: Thank you.

6 ---EXHIBIT NO. 2231: Forestry Sectoral Task Force
7 Report of the Ontario Round
Table on Environment and Economy.

8 MS. BLASTORAH: May I just ask a question
9 of clarification since I also have a copy of the draft.
10 Do you know whether the portions you are going to be
11 cross-examining on are different in the draft?

12 MS. SWENARCHUK: I don't believe they are
13 different.

14 MS. BLASTORAH: Just so I can follow
15 along. Thank you.

16 MS. SWENARCHUK: I want to deal really on
17 this topic of cooperation and non-cooperation between
18 environmentalist and union people, and then of course I
19 have to say this is one of the 2,000 documents filed
20 before you of which I am a co-author, Madam Chair, so I
21 couldn't resist the opportunity.

22 Just for the assistance of the Board, if
23 you would turn to Roman numeral (ii) it gives you a
24 list of who were the members of this task force.

25 I think it is fair to say that it

1 represented a broad spectrum of forest interests
2 including industry, Mr. Boswell who testified before
3 you; Mr. Vrooman who is the vice-president for
4 Environmental Affairs of CP Forest Products; Dr.
5 Quinney whom you know; Mr. Balsillie from the Ministry;
6 Mr. Naysmith was the chair, he is from Lakehead; Mr.
7 Cormier, a native entrepreneur; and then the
8 environmentalists are myself and Brennain Lloyd, not a
9 environmentalist, she is from North Bay; as you see as
10 well we worked with Mr. Jerry Woods also from North Bay
11 who is a representative of the Canadian Paperworkers
12 Union and the recommendations in the report are
13 consensus recommendations of all of those members.

14 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS. SWENARCHUK:

15 Q. Mr. Makowski, I would like you to
16 turn to page 24 of the report, please, which is Section
17 14. This has to do with the issue, as it is often put,
18 of jobs and the environment.

19 As you may be aware, my client in this
20 hearing, Forests for Tomorrow, have presented testimony
21 before the Board about the necessity to harvest only at
22 a sustainable level in Ontario as opposed to a level
23 which is not sustainable and in which my witnesses, our
24 witnesses testified is in fact the current situation.

25 As you can see on page 24, the Sectoral

1 Task Force members also looked at this question.

2 I think it might be most useful, Madam
3 Chair, if I just read the section in so you see what we
4 were thinking.

5 "The Task Force recognizes the importance
6 of the forestry sector to the economy of
7 Ontario and the need to protect forest
8 sector employment. However, there is
9 public concern that current levels of
10 harvest in some regions of Ontario are
11 not sustainable. Mill closures have been
12 a facet of the history of the industry as
13 wood supply in various areas became
14 depleted. In order to prevent such
15 closures, planning and management at
16 the provincial level is required.

17 While production of fiber of the
18 quantity, quality and types sufficient to
19 meet industrial needs is necessary for
20 job protection, production that exceeds
21 the sustainable capacity of the forest
22 will lead to an anticipated decline in
23 wood supply and falling employment
24 levels.

25 It is therefore necessary for the MNR

1 and industry to make a commitment to
2 harvest at a sustainable level. To
3 determine whether the current level is
4 sustainable will require a comprehensive
5 examination of current and projected wood
6 supply, and the employment effects of
7 movement, should it be required, to a
8 lower but sustainable level of harvest.
9 This examination should include both
10 long-term and short-term employment and
11 investment effects of continuing current
12 trends in harvest levels, and of moving
13 to a sustainable level."

14 Another topic dealt with in the text two
15 paragraphs has to do in fact with more local control
16 over decisions. I will come back to that in a moment,
17 but the last paragraph of Section 14 is the
18 recommendation that essentially harvesting in Ontario
19 has happened only at a sustainable level, the
20 recognition that this could have employment effects
21 that need to be studied and taken into account in
22 setting policy, and I want to ask you, Mr. Makowski -
23 you are aware that Jerry Woods was a signatory of this
24 document - of your personal views of this
25 recommendation?

1 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. Well, I believe it's
2 not only my own personal view, but it is also the view
3 of our organization and obviously of Mr. Woods that it
4 would absolutely threaten the long-term viability of
5 our industry, the industry in which we represent
6 workers, if we were to continue to harvest at levels
7 above those that are sustainable.

8 Having having said that, I think the
9 report clearly sets out that we are not sure whether we
10 are doing that or not, and it is important that these
11 recommendation be followed through on as soon as
12 possible so that if we are in fact harvesting at levels
13 that are in excess of sustainable ones that we curtail
14 that because ultimately we will accelerate the rate at
15 which we are going to be in jeopardy if we don't do
16 that. We recognize, of course, if in fact we are in
17 that position that there is going to be an effect on
18 employment.

19 We believe that -- I think I can answer
20 your question if I talk about three areas that we
21 believe need to be mentioned in regard to your
22 question.

23 No. 1 is that this is the type of
24 situation that's always played out in the media where
25 immediately in order to sensationalize the whole issue

1 the labour movement is set on one side of the issue and
2 environmentalists are set on the other side of the
3 issue and the labour movement is characterized as one
4 that's only concerned about jobs in the short term
5 rather than the environment in the long term. As has
6 been pointed out today, we think that's an unfair
7 characterization of the northern worker.

8 It affects immediately not only the
9 forest worker, the person that's employed in the
10 harvesting, but the immediate direct impact will be
11 felt by the people who work in the mills as well, and
12 that's where the bulk of our membership is, although we
13 do represent workers in woods harvesting.

14 So that blackmail, is almost the way I
15 want to characterize it, of the work force is one that
16 we have to overcome.

17 I think some research from Europe that I
18 haven't read but had been have been informed of has
19 shown that generally if we address these problems
20 earlier enough there is really no negative impact on
21 employment, and part of that is that if we look at the
22 whole necessary environmental actions that have to be
23 taken positive environmental policies we believe will
24 result in positive employment opportunities.

25 We can take displaced workers if in fact

1 we are in that negative situation and have -- and put
2 them to work in areas where other positive
3 environmental policies will create jobs there.

4 Having said that, I want to come back to
5 our first recommendation which talks about the -- at
6 the tail end of it saying change is possibly necessary
7 as a result of development of sustainability, that
8 change must be directed in a way that attempts to be
9 fairly to all those affected.

10 We believe that having recognized the
11 principle we can't overharvest. We have to develop a
12 strategy, an industrial adjustment strategy or whatever
13 catch phrase or nomenclature you want to attach to it.
14 It recognized that if we are going to embark on a
15 process of being more environmentally responsible that
16 we have to have a strategy that will accommodate
17 displaced workers through retraining, through early
18 retirement incentives and relocation to areas where new
19 jobs opportunity may well have been -- have been made
20 availability as a result of those positive
21 environmental policies.

22 So to sum it up, yes, we recognize in the
23 most negative of circumstances, if our most negative
24 fears are found to be true about the level of
25 harvesting that's going on in Ontario's forests, that

1 there may be some job losses, particularly short term.

2 We believe there are ways to address it
3 to minimize the impact on the work force and that that
4 is part of a price that may have to be paid to ensure
5 the long-term viability of the industry.

6 MR. MARTEL: Could I ask a question
7 because I am listening to Mr. Makowski and I am worried
8 about this because we heard a good deal of evidence
9 about how we are going to retrain or we might even have
10 government pay for houses, and I only received this
11 yesterday.

12 So my question is actually to you, Ms.
13 Swenarchuk. In this policy, is there somewhere - I
14 have gone through it quickly but not carefully - is
15 there somewhere in that there that the task force does
16 talk about or make recommendations with respect to, as
17 we heard during the hearing, relocation grants,
18 purchase of houses when workers are unemployed or put
19 out of work because of cutbacks because this would
20 certainly be the place to consider such a way of
21 overcoming the adverse effects to working people who
22 are the ones who lose their homes and their
23 opportunities if we don't act appropriately.

24 MS. SWENARCHUK: Frankly, and some of my
25 fellow counsel may object if I give you evidence, that

1 kind of discussion did happen in the task force.

2 MR. MARTEL: But it's not in the report.

3 MS. SWENARCHUK: The only wording --
4 there were no details provided in the report as to what
5 kinds of policies would have to be enacted.

6 I can only point you to page 33, Section
7 20. In the paragraph immediately under No. 20:

8 "In setting new environmental standards
9 government must ensure that the
10 enforcement of such standards does not
11 detrimentally affect workers and
12 communities."

13 Everyone on the task force agreed with
14 that.

15 "The true cost of production including
16 the full cost of using the environment
17 should be reflected in the cost or
18 quantity produced."

19 Then further, the last three paragraphs
20 on the page:

21 "Job losses due to the enforcement of
22 environmental standard must be addressed
23 in all sectors with consideration of
24 the following: The establishment of a
25 fund that will provide grants and loans

1 to businesses willing to invest and
2 provide jobs in Ontario, provide
3 incentives to increase research and
4 development and take part in joint
5 venture and invest directly in local
6 jobs..." and then worker participation
7 in decision making regarding changing the environmental
8 standards.

9 That was the direction that that group of
10 people saw in terms of providing a fund for
11 compensation and adjustment due to job losses.

12 MR. MARTEL: That's why when I was
13 talking a while ago about what my concern is when I see
14 these types of studies, and Lord help me this room is
15 full -- we could fill this room up with studies about
16 northern Ontario, they are all there except none of
17 them ever deal with the gut issue and that is, what
18 happens in a one-industry town, what happens to the
19 workers who lose their homes and their jobs, can't give
20 their house away and there are one million
21 recommendations on funding for projects and all of the
22 nonsense that goes with it, quite frankly, because none
23 of it ever happens.

24 They are great motherhood words, but they
25 never cover what happens to the families and the

1 workers when a one-industry town shuts down and one
2 only has to look at Elliott Lake today, almost only had
3 to look at -- if it wasn't for some tough negotiations
4 with respect to not Hearst, but Kapuskasing.

5 I have seen a thousand studies like this
6 and as a northerner I used to go crazy reading them
7 because they always left out the real fundamental.
8 Again, we have the same thing and this is the hottest
9 one off the press.

10 It still doesn't deal with the
11 fundamental problem facing people in one-industry
12 towns. How do you relocate your life investment, your
13 house, where do you go, how did you get retrained.

14 Those are never considered and that's why
15 I said a while ago, as I did, and I wasn't making
16 reference to this, the real gut issue is never dealt
17 with.

18 MS. SWENARCHUK: I guess the real gut
19 issue though is what happens to all of those
20 communities and workers when the mills close because
21 wood depletion is similarly not dealt with here.

22 MR. MARTEL: The same happens in mining,
23 Ms. Swenarchuk, when the mine runs out and it is always
24 the working class who lose their shirts and that's what
25 we are talking about about here on this study, is it is

1 the working class who can't give the house away.

2 It doesn't matter whether it is Cobalt,
3 it doesn't matter whether it is Haleybury, it doesn't
4 matter whether it is New Liskeard or you just take that
5 whole string of towns, Elliott Lake, the most modern
6 one. The people who get saddled because other people
7 take their investments into consideration and they can
8 work it out except there is one group that can never
9 work it out and, again, we don't deal with that
10 problem. That's what always worries me.

11 MS. SWENARCHUK: As I recall, Mr. Woods
12 from CP wrote this section. So that's where that
13 proposal came from.

14 MR. MARTEL: It doesn't go far enough
15 then.

16 MS. SWENARCHUK: I don't think most of
17 the members of the task force would object to taking it
18 further and maybe Mr. Makowski has some ideas what can
19 be done further. I would be happy to hear from you.

20 MR. MAKOWSKI: I can only say this. A
21 couple of comments. First of all, I think there is an
22 important distinction to be drawn in the resource
23 sectors between the mining industry, although I have
24 really no experience in it, and the forest products
25 industry in that it is a renewal resource and we are

1 talking about effecting changes today to our forest
2 management practices or our view of how we treat the
3 forest that will hopefully reap positive benefits 150
4 years from now. All us, again, won't be around to see
5 the fruits of our labour, I'm sure.

6 With regard to your follow-up question, I
7 am not obviously not in a position to respond to how
8 hamstrung or cornered in, for lack of better terms,
9 that Mr. Woods may have felt in that committee or how
10 far we could have taken those-recommendation, but I can
11 tell you this __

12 MS. SWENARCHUK: We all felt, yes.

13 MR. MAKOWSKI: I'm sure you did. What I
14 can tell you is this. I set out the three areas of
15 concern with regard to your question. The first being
16 the blackmail of workers immediately in those types of
17 settings. The second was the positive employment
18 opport -- or positive environmental policy issues in
19 our view have the ability of providing positive
20 unemployment communities, and the third was an
21 industrial adjustment strategy.

22 I suppose I have been through it enough
23 personally with shutdowns of mills and entire work
24 forces being thrown into a state of turmoil and having
25 to go in and negotiate in many cases with the support

1 of government pressure on companies, enhanced
2 retirement package, enhanced severance pays and so on
3 to lessen the blows.

4 What I'm suggest here in my third point
5 is we have to have a comprehensive industrial
6 adjustment strategy if we are going to move in this
7 direction. It in advance does set out exactly what
8 kind of programs we are going to have available for
9 people because I don't think we can go willy nilly down
10 a path and not have some, I guess, comfort zone that's
11 going to be made available to the workers that are
12 going to be affected. So we have to develop that
13 strategy.

14 Mr. Martel, your points, sir, are very
15 well taken by me having gone through this with mill
16 closure after mill closure in some communities that we
17 need to have everything set out in advance what's
18 available and not have to reinvent the wheel every time
19 a negative situation develops and there is a job loss
20 or a plant closure, whatever the case may be.

21 So we have should have that strategy
22 developed in advance of the situations and it should be
23 a very specific one.

24 MADAM CHAIR: I think the point that Mr.
25 Martel was getting at as well, Mr. Makowski, is that I

1 don't think we have very many successful examples to
2 point to in this province specifically with respect to
3 successful industrial adjustment strategies for the
4 steel industry or the manufacturing sector on the auto
5 industry that's coming up.

6 I don't think we have done a particularly
7 good job in that kind of strategizing, and I suppose a
8 concern among your members is that balancing of making
9 changes within the industry that everyone might feel
10 are very necessary, but with respect to protecting the
11 work force and local communities against the negative
12 aspects of the change I think guarantees our very
13 difficult to make.

14 MR. MAKOWSKI: I agree with you and we
15 recognize that and I also agree with the comments that
16 we haven't done a very good job where we have been
17 faced with these problems.

18 I think part of the problem has been just
19 that, that we haven't had a strategy. We've been very
20 reactive. We wait for something to happen and then we
21 go in and see what we can do about it rather than being
22 proactive and trying to get the parties together to
23 develop some kind of strategy on it. It may well be
24 that it is much easier to do that in advance of a
25 situation happening than it is after having to react to

1 the facts of a closure.

2 You know, there are some success stories
3 in different areas. If you will allow me the
4 opportunity I can try and point to some ways that
5 things have been accomplished. Again, only having some
6 fringe knowledge of these circumstances, but in the
7 Ottawa auto industry, as I understand it, they were
8 facing a problem where the work force was routinely
9 laid off as a result of the need for retooling from
10 time to time and they've put in place a system of
11 supplementary unemployment benefits where there is a
12 bank built up and it augments the UIC benefits that
13 workers are paid during the period in which they are
14 laid off.

15 We believe that, you know, that type of
16 thinking is the approach that's needed. We need to
17 be -- that was done, although reacting to a continually
18 ongoing situation, it was a very progressive move on
19 the part that particular organization.

20 We've talked to some employers with
21 regard to recent closures that potentially were not
22 permanent ones about that kind of program.

23 We think that with the federal
24 government's involvement, although we are not speaking
25 for the federal government in this forum, with the

1 federal government's involvement, with regard to their
2 programs they make available, retraining programs
3 through the Canada Employment Centre, the UIC benefits
4 and the availability of subplans with modified rules
5 that would assist people in circumstances such as we
6 are facing here, with involvement of various provincial
7 agencies with regard to retraining and relocation
8 assistance, with all of those, if we could bring all
9 the players together in advance of a crisis situation
10 we may well be able to develop a strategy that's going
11 to assist us in the future because we are going to face
12 these crisis and we have to put our minds to a solution
13 to them now rather than waiting and reacting and trying
14 to catch up with a company that may be running away and
15 leaving the province or the country as a whole.

16 That may not answer your direct question,
17 but I think that an industrial adjustment strategy is
18 one that's needed and it has got to be comprehensive
19 and it has got to be done in advance of these
20 situations developing to sum it up.

21 MS. SWENARCHUK: Thank you.

22 MADAM CHAIR: Thank you, Ms. Swenarchuk.

23 Ms. Blastorah, are you going to have any
24 questions?

25 MS. BLASTORAH: I have about three very

1 short areas, Madam Chair. I will be about 15 minutes.

2 MADAM CHAIR: All right. Then it looks
3 like we will be -- and you will be conducting a
4 re-examination? I suppose you have to wait and see
5 from Ms. Blastorah's questions.

6 What we might do is finish with Ms.
7 Blastorah's cross-examination and then take a short
8 break and come back and complete with any
9 re-examination.

10 MS. BLASTORAH: Can the reporter hear me
11 from here?

12 THE REPORTER: That's fine.

13 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS. BLASTORAH:

14 Q. Mr. Makowski, for you. I understand
15 from your resume that you are not currently and I
16 believe have never been actually employed as a woods
17 worker and a millwright?

18 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. Well, that's true,
19 although there was a very brief period, I think it was
20 two and a half or three weeks, where I was employed as
21 a woods worker, quite honestly from my father-in-law.

22 As a matter of fact, I have been married
23 twice and the only similarity between the two marriages
24 is both my father-in-laws were woods workers. One
25 owned his own company and all my brother-in-laws are

1 bush workers. So I have that personal involvement with
2 wood workers and bush workers.

3 I did work for a period of about two and
4 a half to three weeks I think for my father-in-law on
5 one occasion when I happened to be on strike at the
6 mill.

7 MR. MARTEL: Oh, oh.

8 MR. MAKOWSKI: That's allowed under our
9 constitution, Mr. Martel.

10 MS. BLASTORAH: Q. But you are not now
11 or have been recently a wood worker?

12 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. No, I'm not, that's
13 correct.

14 Q. I take it neither of Dr. Radforth or
15 Dr. Dunk --

16 PROFESSOR RADFORTH: A. No,

17 PROFESSOR DUNK: A. No.

18 Q. The reason I ask is I am just
19 wondering if you are familiar with the Code of Practice
20 for timber management operations in riparian areas.
21 Are you familiar with that document?

22 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. Quite honestly, no,
23 I'm not.

24 Q. Okay. Are you familiar with the
25 environmental guidelines for access roads and water

1 crossing?

2 A. No.

3 Q. If you are not familiar with those
4 documents, then would I be correct that you wouldn't be
5 familiar with any training initiatives in relation to
6 those documents?

7 A. No, I'm not familiar with any
8 training that's been existing with regard to those
9 issues.

10 Q. Okay, thank you. Moving on then.
11 Have you reviewed the draft terms and conditions, the
12 1992 draft terms and conditions filed by the Ministry
13 of Natural Resources or have you reviewed the
14 Ministry's reply statements of evidence in this
15 hearing?

16 A. I haven't personally, no.

17 Q. Are you then, given that you may not
18 be, but are you familiar with the Ministry's vegetation
19 management alternative project?

20 A. No, I'm not.

21 Q. Are you familiar with the Ministry's
22 initiatives in relation to development of a forest
23 ecosystem classification system or an ecological land
24 classification system?

25 A. Not personally.

1 Q. Okay. Are you aware of or at all
2 familiar with a long-term study underway by the
3 Ministry into the effects of timber management
4 activities on site productivity?

5 A. I'm aware of a number of undertakings
6 by the Ministry and various other committee that have
7 struck by the Ministry to investigate a number of --
8 particular aspects of forest management undertakings.

9 Q. In that context then, are you
10 familiar with the Ministry's forest fragmentation and
11 biodiversity --

12 A. No, I'm not.

13 Q. Okay. I am just wondering then, I
14 think you would agree that, granted you are not
15 familiar with them, but based on the titles alone you
16 are you able to comment or agree as to whether those
17 would not be or don't sound like initiatives focused on
18 obtaining maximum yields?

19 A. I wouldn't be in a position to
20 comment either way.

21 Q. That's fair enough. My last question
22 then given that is you did quote some figures in
23 relation to the average size of clearcuts in both
24 Quebec and Ontario and I was wondering if you could
25 tell me the source of the figures for the Ontario

1 averages?

2 A. I believe it was our research
3 department in both cases, in both provinces' case. The
4 CPU's research department.

5 Q. Do you know where your research
6 department got those data?

7 A. They would get I would assume, and I
8 am not in a position to verify that absolutely, but I
9 would assume they would get them the respective
10 ministries responsible for the forestry.

11 MS. BLASTORAH: Perhaps since you are not
12 aware of it, Mr. Makowski, Ms. Omatsu could I just ask
13 you to provide us with the source for the figures that
14 were stated in relation to Ontario only. I won't ask
15 for the Quebec figures.

16 MS. OMATSU: Could you tell me exactly
17 what figure you are referring to?

18 MS. BLASTORAH: I think the words that
19 Mr. Makowski used in his presentation were that the
20 average cut size in Ontario -- I think he said it was
21 his understanding that it was 260 hectares, although
22 many cuts were larger than that.

23 That's your recollection, too, Madam
24 Chair?

25 MADAM CHAIR: Yes, that's what the Board

1 heard.

2 MS. BLASTORAH: I was just wondering the
3 source of those figures. So you will undertake to
4 provide that?

5 MS. OMATSU: (nodding affirmatively)

6 MS. BLASTORAH: Thank you. Those are all
7 my questions today. I have no questions for Dr.
8 Radforth.

9 MADAM CHAIR: You do have questions for
10 Dr. Radforth?

11 MS. BLASTORAH: No, I do not. Thank you,
12 Madam Chair.

13 MADAM CHAIR: Shall we take a break now,
14 Ms. Omatsu? Will you be having some re-examination or
15 do you want 20 minutes to...

16 MS. OMATSU: I think just one or two
17 questions in redirect.

18 MADAM CHAIR: Would you rather just
19 continue and finish now?

20 MS. OMATSU: No, we could take a break
21 and then come back.

22 MADAM CHAIR: Fine. We will be back in
23 20 minutes.

24 ---Recess at 2:35 p.m.

25 ---On resuming at 3:00 p.m.

1 MS. OMATSU: I have a few questions in
2 re-direct, Madam Chair.

3 RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. OMATSU:

4 Q. Mr. Makowski, you were asked by Ms.
5 Blastorah whether or not you personally were familiar
6 with MNR training codes and guidelines for woods
7 workers.

8 I wonder if you would advise the Board
9 what you are told by your members regarding these codes
10 and guidelines, training?

11 MS. BLASTORAH: Madam Chair, just to
12 clarify. My question actually was in relation to two
13 specific documents and I didn't pursue the matter
14 because I was just questioning whether Mr. Makowski had
15 any familiarity with it at all.

16 Since he said he did not have any
17 familiarity, and I assume he would have me if he had
18 knowledge through other people, I didn't pursue that
19 line of questioning.

20 Just to clarify, I was only referring to
21 two specific documents and those were not training
22 guidelines, they were -- as you know, they were
23 specific guidelines and I was asking about training in
24 relation to those guidelines. So it wasn't a general
25 question on training.

1 MS. OMATSU: Fine.

2 Q. Do you mind advising the Board what
3 your members advise you regarding MNR's code and
4 environmental guidelines for woods workers?

5 I can repeat the two titles on those two
6 if you want me to, the Code of Practice for riparian
7 areas and environmental guidelines for access roads and
8 water courses.

9 MS. BLASTORAH: I don't mean to make a
10 problem or an issue of this, Madam Chair, but I am just
11 not sure -- I already had my answer and the answer was
12 Mr. Makowski didn't know anything about it.

13 I am just not sure now what additional
14 information I am going to get given that he has already
15 answered the question that he wasn't familiar with the
16 documents nor training in relation to them. I'm not
17 sure why the answer would be different now.

18 MS. OMATSU: Well, I am asking him now
19 not in his personal capacity.

20 MS. BLASTORAH: I assumed he was here
21 speaking for the union.

22 MS. OMATSU: I think that is why in
23 redirect I would like to ask him in his representative
24 capacity as a union if he could respond to that
25 question.

1 MADAM CHAIR: Ms. Blastorah, let's have
2 the question put to Mr. Makowski and if new information
3 comes up then the Board will give you an opportunity to
4 put a further question to him.

5 MS. BLASTORAH: That's fine. He may have
6 misunderstood the context of my question.

7 MS. OMATSU: Q. I wonder, Mr. Makowski,
8 if you would please the Board in your representative
9 capacity representing CPU about the Code of Practice on
10 riparian areas and the environmental guidelines for
11 access roads that was directed to you in cross?

12 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. During my earlier
13 years as a representative for the Canadian Paperworkers
14 Union I believe I mentioned earlier I had the occasion
15 to represent some 350 to 400 - I believe it was as high
16 as 450 at one time - woods workers in a particular
17 bargaining unit in northwestern Ontario.

18 There was on many occasions times when
19 the woods workers, the road construction crews,
20 whomever, would question myself or comment to myself on
21 the fact that they needed and were thirsty for training
22 in a wide range of areas including how they were
23 dealing with traversing streams and rivers in the road
24 construction end of it, cutting close to -- or in close
25 proximity to lakes, et cetera.

1 So there was definitely a thirst for
2 knowledge, a thirst for training by the woods workers
3 that I was directly involved in with for a period of
4 about three and a half to four years.

5 Q. Thank you. In your second question
6 you were asked if you were personally familiar with
7 some MNR projects and studies.

8 You were asked in a sense I suppose, if I
9 can rephrase the question, if you were aware that the
10 department was moving on a road from maximum yields
11 towards sustainable yields. I wonder in your
12 representative capacity if you could respond to that
13 question.

14 MS. BLASTORAH: Well, I'm sorry, Madam
15 Chair, but that was not my question. I asked, again,
16 about specific projects and, again, you know, Ms.
17 Omatsu already led evidence on this in direct and we
18 did not cross-examine on that.

19 My question was, again, was he aware of
20 the specific terms and conditions and the reply
21 evidence in relation to specific projects and he
22 indicated he was not. He was not really familiar with
23 those through other means and, therefore, again I
24 didn't pursue the line of questioning because he
25 indicated he had no knowledge of them and he wasn't

1 really able to comment on them.

2 So I do have some problem of Ms. Omatsu
3 coming back and attempting to reopen this area again
4 which she did lead direct evidence on and we didn't
5 cross-examine on it. I'm sorry, but it is not a
6 question properly arising from my cross-examination.
7 It has already been dealt with.

8 MS. OMATSU: If I might respond to that.
9 I think it was very clear from the outset that Mr.
10 Makowski came in a representative capacity and not in a
11 person capacity and the witness evidence that he is
12 giving I think should reflect that.

13 Perhaps in response to some questions he
14 may have responded in a personal capacity and that's
15 the only thing that we are trying to deal with in this
16 redirect.

17 MS. BLASTORAH: I'm not sure how
18 corporately he would have knowledge of something that
19 he doesn't have knowledge of personally. That is my
20 problem.

21 I mean, either he is familiar with these
22 or he is not and he indicated he is not. I don't know
23 how he can comment further than what he may have said
24 in his direct evidence. It's really not proper.

25 MADAM CHAIR: Ms. Omatsu, what is the

1 purpose of this question?

2 MS. OMATSU: Well, I don't want to really
3 say the response, so I will be careful. It is to allow
4 Mr. Makowski to respond to the question directed to him
5 in his representative capacity as a spokesperson for
6 the Canadian Paperworkers and in that sense to indicate
7 a standard procedure that exists between MNR and the
8 union in terms of the sharing of information and
9 documents and this sort of thing.

10 MS. BLASTORAH: Well, Madam Chair, that
11 has nothing do with the question I asked in
12 cross-examination and I think it could have been dealt
13 with in direct. I'm sorry, but it just does not arise
14 from cross-examination.

15 MS. OMATSU: Well, obviously I differ in
16 this because I think that Mr. Makowski has responded to
17 your question personally and what we're trying to do is
18 to have on the record his representative response.

19 MADAM CHAIR: The Board is very well
20 aware of what Mr. Makowski is here to testify to with
21 respect to his representing the CPU, so I don't think
22 anymore questions about -- in that direction will
23 really clarify anything further that the Board feels is
24 necessary.

25 MS. OMATSU: Okay.

1 Q. On the last point, on our
2 undertaking -- and this is just in response to your
3 question of the undertaking. Mr. Makowski, would you
4 please clarify what data the Board you received from
5 the CPU research department?

6 MR. MAKOWSKI: A. Okay. The information
7 with regard to the clearcut sizes and so on in the
8 Province of Quebec was gained through our CPU research
9 department.

10 I have been advised that the information
11 regarding the average clearcut side in the Province of
12 Ontario was in fact information that was provided to
13 the hearing by Mr. Martel the other day, I understand,
14 two days ago or so. I'm not aware of the timing of it.

15 Now, if that information was
16 misunderstood, then we apologize to the Board and I
17 hope you would accept that.

18 If, in fact,, that was the information
19 that was provided to the hearing by Mr. Martel, then we
20 would be happy to -- and my understanding is that it
21 was information that was referred to being received by
22 the Ministry.

23 MADAM CHAIR: I think we can clear the
24 record up very quickly.

25 Mr. Martel was referring to information

1 that we have received in the written reply evidence of
2 the Ministry of Natural Resources, reply evidence 2 I
3 think, and in that they have done a survey of clearcut
4 size since 1988 approximately and they find that over
5 60 per cent of clearcuts are in fact smaller -- are
6 smaller than 240 hectares which has to do with the
7 moose guideline.

8 So that information we have before us and
9 that can be found in the written reply evidence. So
10 that clears up the --

11 MR. MARTEL: It is in the black binder,
12 the question that we raised.

13 MS. BLASTORAH: You are thinking of one
14 of the answers to the interrogatories.

15 MR. MARTEL: Yes.

16 MS. BLASTORAH: Mr. Martel, there is some
17 information, as Mrs. Koven mentioned, in the Panel 2
18 MNR's reply witness statement Panel 2 in relation to
19 clearcut size ranges and some information and I believe
20 that information was expanded on in one of the Board
21 interrogatories. I'm sorry, I don't have the number
22 off the top of my head.

23 MADAM CHAIR: That's fine. Thank you.

24 MR. MARTEL: If someone would like a copy
25 Mr. Pascoe could provide you with a copy of the answer

1 to the matter I was referring to.

2 MADAM CHAIR: Yes. Mr. Pascoe, we are
3 going to be finished shortly perhaps you could Xerox
4 those pages and provide those to Ms. Omatsu.

5 MS. OMATSU: Thank you very much.
6 Those are all my questions.

7 MADAM CHAIR: The Board thanks you very
8 much. Gentlemen, we appreciate you coming here today.
9 We appreciate you getting your evidence before us and
10 you will be apprised of when the hearing is over and
11 when our decision is ready.

12 Thank you very much.

13

14 ---Whereupon the hearing was adjourned at 3:10 p.m.,
15 to be reconvened on Thursday, May 14, 1992
commencing at 10:30 a.m.

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